



# The Nation

VOL. XXXIX.—NO. 1005.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1884.

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## The Nation.

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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1884.

## The Week.

THE Commissioner of Pensions has resigned his office, after stipulating that his resignation shall not take effect till November 10, and has gone to Ohio to take the stump for Blaine. In this way he will draw his salary from the Government for nearly two months, at the rate of \$5,000 a year, while he will be rendering no service in return, and while the office will have to be conducted without a head. It would be difficult to conceive of a more flagrant violation of the spirit and letter of the civil-service rules than this is. Instead of accepting his resignation with fulsome words of praise, and with no objection to its preposterous date of taking effect, Secretary Teller ought either to have insisted that the Commissioner should remain at his post till November 10, or have informed him that his resignation would take effect immediately. If, as his superior officer, Secretary Teller had not the courage to do this, the President ought to direct him to do it now. That Mr. Dudley should see no harm or disgrace in this sharp trick to draw a Government salary while doing partisan political work, is not surprising. Political pressure put him into the office, and he looks upon all office as primarily a reward for political service. His appointment in 1881 was one of the most inexcusable acts of President Garfield's short administration, and one which did much to shake the confidence of the friends of civil-service reform in the sincerity of the new President's devotion to its principles.

When Garfield came into office, Mr. Bentley was Commissioner of Pensions. He had administered the office in a time of great perplexity with remarkable energy and efficiency, and with unimpeached integrity. The passage of the Arrears of Pensions Act had added enormously to the labor of the bureau, and had at the same time, by holding out larger prizes, greatly stimulated the greed of those who live by cheating the Government on the one hand, and the pensioners on the other. Mr. Bentley not only brought the service of the bureau up to the advanced point necessary to meet this emergency, but he stood like a rock between the thieves and their intended victims. His vigilance and fearlessness won him a most enviable reputation as a public officer. But his place was wanted for Colonel Dudley, who had been of great service in the Indiana campaign. The President held out for a few weeks, but finally succumbed, and about the middle of June, 1881, he requested Mr. Bentley's resignation. What the mysterious "pressure" behind Garfield was it is not difficult to conjecture. Mr. Kirkwood, who was then Secretary of the Interior, announced at the time that he was averse to the change. General opinion settled upon Mr. Blaine as the man who persuaded the President to violate his own pledges and those of his party in this case as well as in that of the Collectorship of New York. This opinion is strengthened by Mr. Dudley's conduct now,

The following, which purports to be a true copy of Senator Edmunds's letter "to one of the members of the Wisconsin State Administration," is going the rounds of the Blaine newspapers. It appeared first as a special despatch to the *Chicago Tribune*, dated Madison, Wis., September 23:

"BURLINGTON, Vt., September 18.  
"DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 15th. I am sure that I never wrote or said that the gentleman you refer to 'acts as the attorney of Jay Gould,' for I am not conscious of having thought so. As I have publicly stated, I expect to vote the Republican ticket. Yours truly,  
"GEORGE F. EDMUNDS."

We make bold to say that this is not a true copy of Senator Edmunds's letter; that it is to all intents and purposes a forgery. We therefore call for the publication of the letter as it was written—the whole of it.

Mr. Blaine, in his tour "swinging around the circle," seems to be rather scant of material for speeches. But at an agricultural fair on Thursday he ventured the statement that "there is no year in the history of the United States in which, through all its borders, the agriculturist has rejoiced as he does this year." This is an apparent fulfilment of Dorsey's prediction in 1880, that if the Republican ticket were elected great business prosperity would be secured. Mr. Blaine thinks it has come—in agriculture at all events. What are the facts? The facts are that there never was a year when the agriculturist was so profoundly and bitterly disappointed as now, and this for the reason that although he has good crops he can scarcely get back the cost of production, and in many places cannot get even that. Who is to be blamed for this condition of things may be matter for dispute, but the fact is undeniable. Mr. Blaine's asseveration that the farmers are in a rejoicing mood will fall upon their ears as an untimely sarcasm.

In a glowing account of Mr. Blaine's visit to Syracuse, published in the *Standard* of that place, which is zealously supporting Blaine, we find these sentences: "Leaning on the arm of ex-Mayor J. J. Belden, he (Blaine) gazed in mute amazement at the outward tokens of regard which made the progress of the train through Washington Street like an excursion into the realm of the fays. 'This is magnificent,' he remarked to Mr. Belden. 'You live in a fine city, a fine city.'" And again: "The train was in control of John W. Vrooman, Secretary of the State Committee. Among the other passengers was ex-Mayor J. J. Belden, of Syracuse." Mr. Belden has in fact become a prominent leader of the Blaine travelling show, and the astonishment which his presence in that capacity excited at Albany, where he is so well known, was but natural. Lest the public may have forgotten the points in his history, we will recall them. There is a great deal about Mr. Belden in the files of the *Tribune* for 1875 and 1876. From that unimpeachable source we learn that the Syracuse branch of the Canal Ring was sued by Governor Tilden, in behalf of the people, for the recovery of \$417,000, wrong-

fully obtained by the members of that ring from the State by means of fraudulent canal contracts. The Syracuse members of the ring were held in bail for \$200,000 each. Of Mr. Belden's proud position in the ring, we have this fine picture in the *Tribune* of April 10, 1875:

"(From a staff correspondent of the *Tribune*.)

"SYRACUSE, April 9, 1875.—The chief, the brains of the Syracuse Ring is James J. Belden, whose fortune, largely derived from canal contracts, is said to mount up to more than two millions. He is a man of ability, and though none of the Canal Ring have more than a common-school culture, he is a gentleman of refined bearing. But canal contracts make strange partners, and this patron of churches and sponsor of charitable societies is the partner of an uncouth man who can neither read nor write. Mr. Belden has been prominent in good works. He has given liberally to churches, and his example has been followed in this by one or two other members of the ring. He has thrown all his influence on the side of temperance. One can imagine how strange it sounded to hear a church announcement of an exhibition of the 'Belden Cold Water Temple,' tread closely upon the heels of the minister's denunciation of canal rings and thefts by contract."

Republican advices from Ohio are to the effect that the Democratic managers are flooding the State with money, and are determined to buy it up at any price; nevertheless, the Republican managers are confident of carrying it, when the election is held, a week from next Tuesday, by a handsome majority. Senator Sherman is said to feel assured of a victory, and so is the Chairman of the Republican State Committee. Democratic advices are to the effect that the Republicans are spending money like water, with the intention of buying a majority if it cost a half-million dollars; nevertheless, the Democratic managers are sanguine of victory, and Chairman Barnum thinks they will have 10,000 majority in October. These conflicting accounts are sufficient evidence that the election is what Steve Elkins calls "largely a question of finance." There can be no doubt that the natural tendency is toward a Democratic victory, for while Ohio has been invariably Republican in every Presidential contest for thirty years, there has been during the past three or four years a steady and rapid growth in the size of the Democratic vote, owing mainly to the agitation of the temperance question. It rose from 288,000 in 1881 to 316,000 in 1882. In 1883 it advanced to nearly 360,000, making an increase of 72,000 in two years. Garfield's total vote in November, 1880, was 375,000, and Hancock's 340,000. The total Democratic vote for Governor Hoadly last year was an increase of 20,000 on Hancock's vote, while the Republican vote for Foraker, 347,000, was a decrease of 28,000 from Garfield's vote. These figures show pretty conclusively that if the voters of the State were left to follow their natural bent next month they would elect the Democratic candidates by an increased plurality over the 12,000 which Governor Hoadly received. But they have not been left to this course. While they are nominally to vote for minor State officers, they are besought to vote indirectly for Blaine or Cleveland, and their State is deluged with money for the purpose of securing the

"moral effect" of a victory for one or the other of those candidates. The effect upon the political morals of the State is about as bad as can be, and ought to convince the people of Ohio of the imperative necessity of changing their election day from October to November.

The personal assaults of the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette* on Mr. Carl Schurz surpass in point of brazenness anything in recent campaign literature, except possibly Mr. Blaine's statement that his letters to Fisher are "entirely consistent with the most scrupulous integrity and honor." Both the *Commercial* and the *Gazette* were filled with the same charges against Mr. Blaine in 1876 that Mr. Schurz is now examining in public debate. Those papers are now edited by the same men who edited them then, and their opinions of Mr. Blaine's railroad transactions have not changed one iota, whatever they may say in their consolidated newspaper, or whatever they may think of the general virtues of the Republican party. Because Mr. Schurz says now what they said then, and what they think still, he is subjected to a daily stream of abuse which serves better than anything else to show that the work which Mr. Schurz is doing in Ohio is having a terrible effect upon the Blaine vote in that State.

Every lover and admirer of the venerable Dr. Woolsey, of Yale College, now eighty-three years old and retired from work and affairs, will deplore and reprobate the use which the Republican managers are making of his name as well as of that of another eminent and aged man, Dr. Hopkins. They have got Dr. Woolsey to serve as one of the State Electors, pledged to vote for the elevation of their disreputable candidate to the Presidency of the United States, counting doubtless on his years and infirmities to prevent his making any thorough examination of Mr. Blaine's disgraceful record. Not content with this, they have invaded his well-won repose to extract a written opinion from him of Blaine's qualifications, in which he confesses that all he knows of Blaine's defence he got from Mr. George F. Hoar's letter, which the *Tribune* was afraid to print, and which most of Mr. Hoar's friends were ashamed to read, and from a pamphlet by—Mr. George Bliss; and that he confides in Blaine on account of "the confidence entertained in him," among others, by "Hawley and Edmunds of the Senate." Nothing more discreditable than the publication of this letter has occurred in the canvass.

We regret to observe that the *Tribune* has found itself unable to print the Mulligan letters in its weekly edition. It has done the next best thing to it, however, by informing its weekly readers that all the letters appear in its daily and semi-weekly editions of September 20 and 23, and offering to send copies free of cost to those of their weekly subscribers who ask for them. Its excuse for not publishing them in the *Weekly Tribune* is that they would take up too much space, but the question arises, How could a "complete vindication" of Mr. Blaine take too much space anywhere? The letters could have been printed upon a neat four-page supplement, which would have been

convenient for Blaine voters to slip into their pockets and read at odd moments of leisure, or pull out in the heat of debate with irritating dudes and Pharisees. There is great demand for such a supplement in the West, for, as far as our observation goes, few or none of the Blaine organs there have published the Mulligan letters in accordance with Mr. Blaine's personal request. If the *Tribune* does not feel like going to the expense of a supplement, we have no doubt it could contract cheaply with the Harpers for a few hundred thousand copies of the supplement which they issued with their *Weekly* of last week. That is an exceedingly interesting document, is of about the size to fold neatly into the *Weekly Tribune*, and thus disseminated would accomplish a vast amount of good.

It may assist some people to appreciate the value of Mr. Blaine's asseveration that he "never had any transactions of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely," to quote the testimony of the Hon. James F. Wilson, United States Senator from Iowa and a friend of Mr. Blaine, as given on two separate examinations before the investigating committee in 1876. Mr. Wilson was then a Government Director of the Union Pacific Railroad:

*From Page 39 of Testimony.*

"Mr. Blaine said to me that he could not imagine how he could be connected in any way with the negotiation of these bonds, unless the impression had grown out of the fact of a negotiation in connection with the construction of that [Little Rock] road, which had no relation to these bonds, but which did relate to the affairs of that company after it got into difficulty between the company and other parties. I do not remember the names of others except Colonel Scott. Colonel Scott was mentioned as one of the parties connected with that negotiation, but that relates, as I understand, to a different subject entirely."

*From Page 58 of Testimony.*

"I asked him (Blaine) whether he had any theory on which to explain the connection of his name with those bonds. He said that he had not, and that he certainly never had been interested in them, nor had anything to do with them. He said that the only thing he could fix in his mind out of which such a rumor could have originated, was the fact that during the pendency of certain negotiations between parties interested in the construction of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad and others (whom, as I stated in my examination the other day, I afterward understood to be the parties interested in the Southern Improvement Company, Mr. Scott being one of them), he had been requested to speak to those parties in aid of the negotiation that was pending, and that he had done so."

Tammany's purpose in nominating a "straight" ticket is plain enough. It is in accordance with John Kelly's regular policy of asking for everything in order to get the most possible in the final division. That he wishes to run his ticket against the combined County Democracy and Irving Hall organizations, we do not believe. The Blaine Republicans are more anxious for him to do that than he is. Two opposing Democratic tickets and a separate Republican ticket would furnish a fine opportunity for a "deal," by which a few thousand Tammany votes could be sold to Blaine in return for as many Machine Republican votes for the Tammany ticket. This would be a needed help to Blaine, but it would not

enable Tammany to elect its candidates. What Kelly wants first of all is success in the city contest. He does not care a rap for the success of Cleveland, but he does not carry his dislike of him so far as to be willing to defeat himself rather than have Cleveland elected. His movements are contemplated with great satisfaction by the Blaine supporters of all kinds, and the *Sun's* delight finds expression in a really enthusiastic approval of his ticket.

The anti-Blaine demonstrations among the Republicans of Rhode Island are very significant. In Newport the Independent Club have so large a following that they took part in a Cleveland parade on Tuesday evening. We believe that this was the first display of the kind made in the city for many years, if not the very first in the history of the city, because there has never before been sufficient opposition to the Republican Presidential candidates to make a respectable demonstration. There are Independents enough now to make more than this, and they are even more impressive in quality than in quantity. They represent the most eminent and influential families in the city. Many of them are men of large means, and are universally known as earnest, thinking men of the true Republican type. The same things can be truly said of an Independent club which was formed on Monday in Providence, with a membership of 175 at the start. They adopted a constitution, pledging themselves to "oppose by all laudable methods the election of James G. Blaine to the Presidency of the United States," and also a long address.

The appointment of General Gresham as Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Judge Folger, deceased, will be recognized everywhere as a fitting and appropriate disposition of that important office. President Arthur has neither used the Department as a makeweight in the political campaign, nor as a stepping-stone for his own political future. General Gresham has the full confidence of the country, earned by an industrious and un sullied career in military, civil, and judicial life. No appointment could have been freer from objection, and hardly any could have been made giving better promise of usefulness to the public service.

Judge Van Vorst's decision in the Loubat case, that Mr. Loubat was properly tried and legally expelled by the Union Club, will be a relief to all, not only persons to whom clubs are of any value for social purposes, but to all friends of common sense. A man asserting his right at law to stay in the society of gentlemen who dislike or despise him, is surely one of the most ludicrous spectacles which the moving panorama of modern society presents. Of course, everybody should be protected against suffering in mind, body, or estate from a charge false in fact, but in this case there was no dispute about the nature of Mr. Loubat's offence. What he was trying to show was, that it had not been inquired into with proper technical regularity, although he did not pretend that a different result would have been reached by any inquiry. His object was doubtless to escape the disgrace of formal ex-



pulsion. If the courts had reinstated him he would perhaps have tried to pop in a resignation between the judgment and the next action of the Club.

The announcement is made on good authority that the price of steel rails has been advanced to \$29 per ton, the former rate having been \$27 50, and that a further advance to \$35 is contemplated. Simultaneously with this comes a telegram from Williamsport, Pa., saying that wages in iron and steel works are to be reduced 10 to 20 per cent., and that notices of the reduction have already been given by the Cambria Iron and Steel Company of Johnstown, the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company of Scranton, and the Pottstown Iron and Steel Company, and a number of smaller concerns in Susquehanna, Lehigh, Allegheny, Schuylkill, Lebanon, Lackawanna, and Wyoming. A strike is said to be impending in Bethlehem, Scranton, Allentown, and Johnstown. The companies are no longer willing to furnish rails at or below cost. The workmen, on the other hand, cannot see why wages should be reduced on an advancing market for rails. Meanwhile, the blessings of a high tariff constitute the principal theme of the Blaine orators in their appeal to the operatives.

*Bradstreet's* record of business failures for three quarters of the present year (the last week of September estimated) foots up 8,290, against 7,358 in the corresponding period of last year. For the full year the estimate is 11,500 against 10,191 last year. Bank failures (national, State, savings, and private) for nine months, have been 117 against 28 the previous year. Fourteen of the 117 were national-bank failures. Of the whole number of bank failures 16 were due to fraud or embezzlement, 22 to speculation, and the remainder to "bad management." The record merely shows what has been apparent all along, that business has been more depressed this year than last year, or any year since 1879.

The development of the Russian petroleum wells at Baku is watched with deep interest by the trade in this country. A very thorough examination of its prospects and promises was made at the beginning of the present year by *Bradstreet's*, the purport of which was that American petroleum was in no immediate danger of being supplanted in European markets by the Russian product. This conclusion is supported by a recent report of Consul-General Perry to the British Board of Trade. The difficulty at Baku is not any lack of petroleum, for the district is capable of supplying 1,600,000 tons per annum; but everything else required for a large traffic is completely wanting, and most of all common sense. There are no pipe lines, no oil cars, no banking facilities, no wharves, and no conceptions of method in business. There is a complete monopoly of the carrying trade on the Black Sea. The Russian officials are bent upon keeping back the crude oil in order to promote the refining business at home, and are even advocating an export duty for that purpose. The rate of discount on good drafts is 20 per cent. per annum. This combination of adverse influences has ruined several companies.

The shares of oil companies have depreciated to about 20 per cent. of what they cost to the original investors. The trade is at present paralyzed, and the probability is that it will remain so for a long time, the movement of official life and of every other kind of life in Russia being exasperatingly slow. Nevertheless the petroleum of Baku will keep, and eventually the prospect of gain will overcome even Russian stolidity and bureaucracy.

British trade returns for August show, for the first time this year, a perceptible shrinkage. The falling off in imports exceeds 18 per cent. in value and probably 10 per cent. in quantity as compared with last year. In iron ore the decline is as much as 40 per cent., in wool 43 per cent., and in jute 61 per cent. It is explained, however, that the imports of these articles were exceptionally large in August, 1883. In exports the falling off is slight, being only 7 per cent. in values, which may mean not more than 3 or 4 per cent. in quantity. The exports of linen, woollen, and worsted fabrics show an increase of 25, 18, and 20 per cent. respectively, while those of iron and steel decreased 25 per cent.

There has been a somewhat amusing correspondence between Sir William Harcourt and Nobel's Explosive Company, of London, which manufactures most of the English dynamite. He proposed that they should have their fifty depots guarded well every night. They answered that this would cost them \$125,000 a year, and make competition with foreign dynamite impossible, and suggested that as all the dynamite used in the late outrages was American or German, he should clap an import duty on that as the true remedy. We suppose this was seriously meant, but it has the air of a joke, as of course foreign dynamite intended for outrages does not pass the Custom-house, and therefore would never pay duty. The correspondence illustrates forcibly the difficulty there is in contending with this form of crime, even where the police is as good and the power of the Government as great as they are in England. It would seem to be the duty of the Government, however, to guard dynamite factories at night, or else assume control of the business as a State monopoly. Why not prohibit its manufacture altogether, as the growth of tobacco is prohibited, and rely on foreign supplies?

Mr. Gladstone's reception in Midlothian, and on the way thither, so far from showing any diminution of his popularity, seems to have surpassed even that of 1880 in the fervor of its welcome. He addressed enormous meetings, speaking with all his old vigor, and, it may be added, with all his old candor, or, as some would say, rashness. It was of course about the controversy with the Peers over the Franchise Bill that he was listened to with most attention, and on this he was distinctly cautious and conservative. He evidently sought to soothe rather than inflame popular hostility to the House of Lords, while not concealing in the least the possibility that continued obstinacy on the part of the Peers might put that House in peril. The agitation in the provinces, set on foot by the Rad-

icals, has shown two things clearly; one is that the hostility to the House of Lords is very strong among the masses—so strong that it would need but little fanning of the flame to create an overwhelming demand for its abolition or fundamental alteration. On the other hand, it has also shown that there is no popular dislike of the Peers as rich men with titles, and that the opinion of those who think that, were the House of Lords abolished, the Lords would be favorite candidates for the House of Commons, even in popular constituencies, is well founded. The Liberals are satisfied that the appeal to the country has been fairly taken and the decision given against the Peers, and it has, we believe, been now determined that the claim of the Peers that they may insist on a dissolution of the House of Commons before passing the Franchise Bill, will be firmly resisted, and if pressed will lead to a direct attack on the House of Lords itself, either by resolution or by an address to the Crown.

The Belgian crisis grows more and more grave, and we are apparently now threatened with a fight in the streets of Brussels. The controversy has taken the shape, which such controversies are so apt to take, of town against country. That is, the priests, who have demanded the present Educational Bill, have their strength in the country, while the Liberals are strongest in the towns, and particularly in Brussels. This used to be the condition of things in France as regards religious questions, but within the present generation the peasantry seem to have gone over to the anti-clericals. How it happens that Catholicism has maintained its hold so well in the country districts of Belgium, in spite of French influence, is probably to be explained by difference of language. French is the language of the Belgian cities, but the peasantry speak Flemish and Low Dutch only, and are therefore not easily reached by the sceptical literature of the day, and in fact have never been a very political body. Their country has been for ages the "cockpit of Europe," and has been fought over by a dozen modern armies, without attaching them to any cause, nationality, or dynasty in particular. They have consequently never acquired the habit of troubling themselves much about politics; but as the human imagination will have something to stir it, they have made religion take its place. The hold of the Catholic Church on the Irish, which is also so strong, is due to causes very similar.

The identical note presented to Nubar Pasha by Germany, Austria, France, and Russia, protesting against the action of the Egyptian Government in suspending the law of liquidation, is another very important incident in the Egyptian trouble, particularly as it winds up with a threat in case the Egyptians continue to act under British guidance. It is the more extraordinary because it is a new thing in international relations to treat the claims of foreign creditors as good ground of menace directed against the Government which fails to meet them. This is true, whether Egypt is to be held responsible for her own acts or not. It will be interesting to see how the matter will be received in England, which just now appears to be in foreign politics in a position of great isolation.

## SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, September 24, to TUESDAY, September 30, 1884, inclusive.]

## DOMESTIC.

LATE last Wednesday night the President appointed Postmaster-General Gresham to be Secretary of the Treasury. It is thought that he was only appointed temporarily, because of the declination of a person or persons to whom the office had been offered, and that he will soon resign to accept a United States Judgeship. Under the law First Assistant Postmaster-General Hutton became Acting Postmaster-General for ten days.

A call has been issued for the redemption of \$10,000,000 bonds of the 3 per cent. loan of 1882; the principal and accrued interest will be paid at the Treasury on November 1, and interest will cease on that day.

Mr. Cleveland is to visit Buffalo this week, but he has expressed a wish that no "demonstration" be made in his honor.

Mr. Blaine began his political tour to Ohio and other States from this city last Wednesday morning. Crowds turned out to meet him at many places in this State and he spoke a few words to them, but said nothing on political subjects.

One of the largest political gatherings ever seen in the West was the Democratic demonstration at Columbus, O., last Thursday. It is estimated that from 75,000 to 100,000 persons participated.

Among the latest bolting Republicans announced are William Young, of Milwaukee, Wis., probably the largest grain commission merchant in the West, and Judge C. M. Butt, of Vernon County, Wis., who was the Republican candidate for Congress two years ago in the Seventh District, and served as State Senator in 1869-70.

One of the oldest Republican papers in Connecticut, the *Litchfield Enquirer*, finds that the last batch of Mulligan letters convict Blaine of falsehood.

Butler's Massachusetts Convention has nominated M. J. McCafferty for Governor and John F. Marsh for Lieutenant-Governor. A very large number of Massachusetts Republicans will vote for him.

Ex-Governor St. John, the Prohibition Presidential candidate, believes that he will receive 1,000,000 votes in all.

The Illinois Methodist Conference has adopted a resolution that that body will give its support to St. John in the coming Presidential election.

Tammany Hall, in convention on Monday, put an entire city ticket into the field, without any regard to the other local Democratic organizations. Its candidate for Mayor is Alderman H. J. Grant.

Referring to the frantic attempts of Blaine's friends to induce Mrs. Lot M. Morrill to retract what she has said about the Republican candidate, the *Augusta (Me.) New Age* says: "She has told the truth, but not the whole truth, or half of it, as her persecutors in this city well know. They know that Mrs. Morrill has in her control certain letters of Mr. Blaine, written to her husband, which, if given to the public, would fully vindicate her every statement. These letters in question Mrs. Morrill regards as sacred, and she does not propose giving them to the public unless compelled so to do in self-defence, to vindicate her course, and to relieve herself and family from Blaine's satellites."

A few days ago the anti-Blaine Republicans of Concord, Mass., challenged the Blaine men, through the Republican Town Committee, to a public discussion of the personal honesty of Mr. Blaine. The Committee decline the discussion, saying: "The question which you propose to discuss was, in our judgment, tho-

roughly and completely discussed and settled before the nomination of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and is not an issue in this political campaign. Concurring in the judgment which the great mass of the Republican party of the United States have passed upon the personal character of Mr. Blaine, we have no disposition to assist in forming or gathering an audience to listen to a rehash of confuted slander."

The Young Republican Club of Brooklyn held an excited meeting last week. The Blaine men were in the ascendant, and passed resolutions declaring for the Republican Presidential candidates. The President of the Club has resigned and many of the Executive and Advisory Committees will follow his example. One of the members says: "I do not think Blaine's friends can gain much comfort from the result of this meeting, for it shows that 500 out of 2,500 Republicans oppose his nomination, and if he loses in like proportion throughout the State he cannot be elected by Republican votes."

The Democratic members of the House Committee that investigated the Star-route proceedings have made a report. They find that the whole amount out of which the Government was defrauded in the Star-route mail service during the Hayes administration will exceed \$4,000,000. They say that the testimony is so conflicting as to lead to the belief that wilful perjury was practised by some of the witnesses, and in conclusion find that, "while the evidence against Star-route contractors and public officials was strong and conclusive as to their guilt, and that the Government was defrauded of large sums of money, and that large sums were also expended to secure indictments and convictions, yet no person was convicted or punished, and no civil suits have as yet been instituted to recover the vast sums illegally and fraudulently obtained from the public treasury."

The equalized values of this State for taxable purposes show the following footings: Total assessed, \$3,014,591,372; equalized value of real estate, \$2,669,173,011. The total value of New York city is fixed at \$1,390,596,803.

A general report on the potato crop shows that the yield will be only two-thirds that of 1883, and that the rot is very prevalent. Higher prices are expected.

The Southern cotton-manufacturing interest remains in an unsatisfactory condition, and the managers will meet soon to consider the situation.

At an adjourned session of the general managers of all the Western and Southwestern railroads held in Chicago last week, the initial proposition to form four pools on Colorado and Utah business, taking the Missouri River as the dividing line, making two pools east and two west of that river, was unanimously agreed upon. The action of the conference provides that rates shall be maintained until October 6, when, if the agreement is signed by the Presidents of the roads, the pools will enter into effect and remain in force until the close of the present year. The new combination is already looked upon as a fixed fact.

Three Pullman cars and a private car left the track near Pickering Station, Ont., last Wednesday night, owing to a broken frog, and went over an embankment twenty-five feet high. Two of the cars took fire, and the passengers had to be taken out through a hole in the roof. Notwithstanding the serious nature of the accident, no one was fatally injured.

Two thousand six hundred and ten feet of the long bridge across Lake Pontchartrain, La., were burned on Thursday night. It is said the cost of rebuilding will be \$75,000.

The Rockingham House at Portsmouth, N. H., one of the finest hotels in New England, was burned on Saturday. The loss is estimated at from \$90,000 to \$140,000.

Cleveland, O., is alarmed by a succession of

fires, doubtless of incendiary origin. The insurance companies are cancelling a great many of their policies there.

A very daring attempt at bank robbery has been frustrated at Las Vegas, N. M. The cashier became convinced that robbers were tunnelling from an adjoining building to the vault, and guards were immediately placed in and around the building. A Mexican who volunteered to go down to the cellar and make an investigation had taken but a few steps when he saw some one coming. He fired, and the man fell dead. The dead robber has been recognized as one of the masons who built the vault. The other robbers escaped. The tunnel was sixty feet long.

Over the cornice of the façade of the Eden Musée, in West Twenty-third Street, this city, are four stone urns, which are capped with stone pinnacles weighing some 300 pounds each. Last Wednesday afternoon the wind caused one of the flags on the building to flap vigorously. It caught on one of the pinnacles and toppled it over toward the street, striking a man so squarely on the top of the head that he fell dead.

General Alfred M. Scales, the Democratic candidate for Governor of North Carolina, who was badly hurt a short time ago by being thrown over a precipice in the western part of the State, is still unable to meet his appointments, and his friends fear that he was more seriously hurt than was at first supposed.

Isaac Newton, the Chief Engineer of the Department of Public Works in this city, killed himself by cutting his throat with a razor last Thursday. Ill health and business cares had impaired his reason.

Commodore T. Scott Fillebrown, the Commandant at the Brooklyn Navy-yard, died suddenly at his residence at the yard last Saturday morning of heart disease. He was sixty years of age.

Mr. John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, died at Deer Park, Md., last Friday morning. The death of his wife, as the result of an accident, last year, affected him greatly, and he had for some time been in a decline.

John Lord Taylor, D. D., one of the most eminent Congregational ministers in this country, and who was connected for nearly thirty years with Andover Theological Seminary, in the capacity of Trustee, Treasurer, and Professor of Theology and Homiletics, died last week, aged seventy-four years.

Francis E. Kernochan, President of the Belair Manufacturing Company at Pittsfield, Mass., and a wealthy and prominent citizen, believing that burglars were about the premises early last Friday morning, took a revolver and started for the lower part of the house. On his way he stumbled, his revolver was discharged, and he received a wound from which he died in a few hours. He was a member of the Yale class of 1861.

The lifeless body of Mr. Gillie Leigh, a member of the British Parliament who visited this country for pleasure, has been found at the base of a precipitous cliff in the Big Horn Mountains. He left camp for a stroll, and was not heard of afterward till an eight days' search revealed his dead body.

## FOREIGN.

The principal event of the week in regard to Egyptian affairs has been the presentation to Nubar Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, of an identical note by the diplomatic representatives of Germany, Austria, France, and Russia, making a formal protest against the action of the Egyptian Government in diverting the revenues set apart for the sinking fund to the general Egyptian treasury. The Italian representative made a milder remonstrance. It is expected that the Egyptian Government will simply make a formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the protest. A Vienna despatch to



the London *Times* asserts that the Cabinet of Great Britain has informed the Powers that, in its opinion, the suspension of the sinking fund by the Egyptian Government is justifiable in the present condition of its finances. French newspapers represent that Bismarck is leading the movement against the English policy in Egypt, and the French Ministerial papers express satisfaction with an agreement between France and Germany relative to Egyptian affairs. It is positively stated in Berlin that the great Powers are discussing the question of a renewal of the London Conference, in order to settle the Egyptian financial question.

The *Caisse de la dette Publique*, of Cairo, will commence an action against the Minister of Finance, before the International Tribunal, to compel the refunding of the sums of money which have already been paid since the suspension of the sinking fund, and will also demand that an injunction shall be issued against any future payments to the Minister of Finance.

It is understood that General Wolseley has positive orders from the War Office for General Gordon, directing him to hasten the evacuation of Khartum. A letter from the London *Times's* correspondent at Khartum dated July 30 gives a detailed account of the situation up to that time. He says: "The town has been closely besieged for five months and will be able to hold out only two months longer. Rations are being issued to the poor." "Since the siege began, our loss has been under 700. Arab bullets are flying on all sides, some of them falling on the palace. Food is tremendously dear. Since my recent despatch all hope of Government relief is gone, and we only depend on the steamers. It is impossible for us to cut our way through the rebels, burdened as we are with numbers of women and children." "July 29.—Mehemet Ali's action yesterday was very successful. Five armored steamers, after clearing thirteen forts, found at Garreiff two strong forts. The vessels engaged the forts for eight hours under a terrific fire. The cannon in the forts were finally disabled, and the rebels driven out. Our loss was only three killed and thirteen wounded. General Gordon will soon send two steamers toward Sennaar to try to recapture a steamer taken from Saleh Bey. General Gordon is well."

The Suez Canal Company has decreed a reduction in the tariff of fifty centimes, to go into effect January 1.

At an important meeting of the French Cabinet last Saturday it was resolved to summon the Chambers to meet on October 14. The Government has resolved to retrench its expenditures during the year 1885. The estimates will be cut down to the extent of 50,000,000 francs.

The news of the week in regard to the Franco-Chinese question is made up largely of "reports." It is said that the Empress of China has decided to conclude peace with France, and the Shanghai correspondent of the London *Times* has reported that the Franco-Russian alliance means the disintegration of China and its partition between those two countries; France taking the three southern provinces and Russia having China as a recruiting ground for her armies—the two countries being connected by railways. The latter story is denied from St. Petersburg. Private advices received in London from Peking say that China has been improving the inaction of Admiral Courbet and General Briere Delisle by strengthening all the points along the coast and southern frontier which are menaced by the French. Admiral Peyron, French Minister of Marine, has refused the request of both General Briere Delisle in Tonquin and Admiral Courbet to recommence warlike operations, with a view to hastening the crisis. General Briere Delisle is sanguine of success even without reinforcements.

The Governor-General of Min Che, comprising the provinces of Tse-Kiang and Fuh-

Kien, has been dismissed from office and degraded in rank, but the Governor and the General of Fuh-Kien, in which Foo-Choo is situated, have both been retained. The excuses which the latter gave for the success of the French in their district were satisfactory. Li Hung Chang, the famous viceroy of Chi-Li, and leader of the peace party in China, whose power and influence had been greatly curtailed by the Government, has been reinstated in all the offices he formerly held.

The French have stopped and searched two English trading steamers in the Formosa Channel, and this may cause some trouble.

China has paid £11,400 indemnity for the losses suffered by German residents at Canton by reason of the outbreak of the natives in 1883.

At a meeting of Liberals held in Brussels last Sunday to arrange a platform to oppose the Education Law, speeches were made appealing for support at the communal elections. A Liberal demonstration was subsequently held on the Bourse in honor of the Burgomaster, to whom a bust and a scarf of honor were presented in recognition of his services in the educational cause. M. Marchi, Director of the *National Journal*, who has recently been strongly supporting the Republican cause, has been expelled from the country.

A placard, signed "The Committee of the Liberal Association," has been posted in all parts of Brussels, which declares that, inasmuch as the new Education Bill has been officially promulgated as the law of the land, it ought to be respected and obeyed by all. Liberals, by so acting, will prove to the Catholics that they will not imitate the factious opposition displayed by the Romanists toward the Education Bill of 1879. The placard continues: "We repudiate all community with those who profit by the ferment of popular feeling to attack the bases of our national institutions with the cry 'Vive la République.' We indignantly repel the calumnious assertions of the Catholic press, which professes to hold the Liberal party responsible for those acts."

The *Times's* correspondent telegraphs that up to midnight of last Thursday the total number of deaths in Europe from cholera since the outbreak in Toulon was 14,132. Of these Italy had 7,974, France 5,798, and Spain 360. The epidemic is abating in Italy.

A riot has occurred between German colonists and Russian peasants at Rovno, in the Government of Saratoff, Russia. Ten of the rioters were killed and thirty wounded.

The gathering of groups of students in the streets of Kieff, Russia, has been forbidden because of recent disorders which were suppressed by the military. During these disturbances a number of persons were wounded, and 340 of the participants were arrested.

Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, British Secretary of State for the Home Department, has written a letter urging upon Nobel's Explosive Company, of London, the necessity of having their fifty dynamite depots strictly guarded nightly. The Nobels reply that to comply with the request would involve an expense of \$125,000, and render their competition with American and German dynamite manufacturers impossible. They say that foreign dynamite has been used in nearly all the recent outrages that have been perpetrated in England, and suggest that the Government levy a duty upon foreign-made dynamite.

An attempt was made last Sunday to blow up the Council House at Salisbury, Eng. A number of windows were smashed by the explosion, but otherwise no damage was done.

Lord Salisbury has written an exhaustive article in the *National Review*, in which he undertakes to prove that the Conservatives in reality desire the franchise to be coupled with redistribution. This, he says, will give the Conservatives more seats than they now hold.

According to London *Truth*, the British Cabinet have resolved to create fresh Peers if a small majority of the House of Lords rejects the Franchise Bill a second time. "If, however, the bill is rejected by a large majority, Parliament," says *Truth*, "will be asked to express its views regarding the future constitutional position of the House of Lords, either by a resolution or by an address to the Crown. If a dissolution of Parliament is brought about this autumn the country will be consulted—not regarding the Commons, but regarding the Lords."

Mr. Gladstone's attention being called to the statements of an anonymous pamphlet which accuse him of supporting the Roman Catholic Church, he pronounces them grossly untrue, and demands the name of the author.

George Swan Nottage, Esq., Alderman for Cordwainers Ward, was elected Lord Mayor of London on Monday.

The British steamer *Corentry*, from Liverpool, September 22, for Charleston, has put into Greenock after meeting with a curious accident. When 400 miles off Tory Island her spare propeller broke adrift between decks and smashed iron plates, frames of the hull and beams. The propeller fell into the lower hold and burst through the shaft tunnel. The vessel nearly foundered. She had much difficulty in reaching the Clyde, having met with heavy gales.

The Boers have invaded Stellaland in violation of the guarantees entered into with England. Enthusiastic meetings have been held at Cape Town, Grahamstown, and other places, at which the high-handed proceedings of the Boers were denounced. The London *Times* says that England, while chary in entering upon fresh complications, cannot allow the Boers to extort concession after concession, heap insult upon insult, and treat convention after convention as only to be made in order to be broken.

The Copyright Congress at Berne has resolved that authors belonging to the Union shall enjoy equal rights with the natives of all the contracting countries, subject to the laws of the country where the work originated, or, in the case of unpublished manuscript, to the laws of the author's country. These rules are to apply to authors publishing their works in a country belonging to the Union of which they are not natives. Authors are to enjoy ten years' exclusive right to a translation in all countries belonging to the Union. The publication of extracts or entire pieces of scientific works or works of instruction will be permitted, provided the author's name is given. The musical works to be protected include arrangements or compositions based on themes from original works. A permanent international protection bureau has been established.

A meeting of the Salvation Army at Nyon, Switzerland, was attacked last Friday by a rabble who broke in the windows of the building in which the Army was assembled and destroyed the furniture.

A Madrid despatch says that the Spanish and American Governments are not, as has been alleged, negotiating for the establishment of a treaty of commerce between Spain itself and the United States.

Herr von Schloezer, the Prussian Minister to the Vatican, has presented to Cardinal Jacobini, Papal Secretary of State, a note indicating the basis on which Prussia is prepared to resume negotiations with the Vatican.

A complete separation of Government and the Church in Chili seems probable.

Quiet has followed the defeat of General Caceres in Peru, and the outlook in that country is peaceful.

Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, and the entire London Lyceum Company, numbering over sixty persons, arrived at Quebec last Sunday.

### "THE CONSCIENCE VOTE."

It is no secret that a very large number of Republican voters are sufficiently dissatisfied with the candidates of both the great parties to be unwilling to vote for either, and are looking about for some mode of taking part in the Presidential election which will save them from all moral responsibility, however slight, for the election of either. One mode of doing this has been recommended by such authorities as President Seelye, of Amherst, in the *North American Review*, and the Rev. Dr. Woolsey Bacon, of Philadelphia, viz.: the making by each group of malcontents of a ticket of their own. In fact, it would seem as if it was not necessary that a number of persons should unite in making a ticket. There appears to be no good reason why each man should not have his own ticket, because, under this plan, it is not necessary that the nominees should accept the nomination. Dr. Bacon says it is "a foolish notion that it is necessary to ask a man's permission before you nominate him and vote for him." Dr. Bacon's ticket would be Alfred H. Terry, of Minnesota, for President, and Julius H. Seelye, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. It is needless to say that he would not have the smallest hope of electing them, or of accomplishing anything by voting for them, beyond taking a nominal part in the election without seeming to approve of candidates selected by the two great parties. It is to be observed, however, that his vote would not be exactly what used to be called "a conscience vote." The conscience vote was a vote cast for candidates whom nobody expected to elect, but who did represent a political policy or a set of political ideas which their supporters expected some day or other to see triumph in legislation, and whose candidacy was therefore to be in some sense the foundation of a new party. The Republican party was, as a matter of fact, founded in this way.

The other mode of avoiding responsibility for the election of either Blaine or Cleveland, and the one which probably finds favor with most malcontents, is total abstention. Those who choose it stay at home on election day, in order when all is over, and a man of whom they utterly disapproved has been placed in the Presidency, to be able to say to their own consciences that they have had neither lot nor part in bringing about a result which they deplore. This year the number of those who resort to this expedient will undoubtedly be very large.

We think, however, it is not very difficult to show that both these plans are based on the assumption that the conscience, like a heathen idol, may be kept in the dark as to the remoter consequences of men's acts; though in politics the remoter consequences are the important ones, and it is above all things around them that the reflection of a conscientious man must play. The conduct of the Prohibitionist in casting a vote for St. John is perfectly practical and rational, because he believes that by incessant trials of strength at the ballot-box he will some day convert the Prohibitionist minority into a majority, and put it in possession of the Government. But those who either cast a hopeless vote or abstain from voting at this election,

do so for the simple purpose of procuring a certain amount of self-satisfaction after the election is over. Not only, however, have they no right to the luxury they seek, but they cannot escape the responsibility they try to avoid. As a matter of fact, a man who has a vote cannot, in any country governed by party, avoid all share in the result of any election except by pairing. If he stays at home, he adds one vote to the party to which he does not belong. If he votes for a fancy ticket, it is, of course, the same thing as staying at home. The dissatisfied Republican who cannot vote for either Cleveland or Blaine, virtually gives a vote to somebody by refraining. And so does the dissatisfied Republican who votes for General Terry or President Seelye. There is no way under heaven of arranging it so that no party shall profit by his absence. It may be that the effect of his abstention will be so small as not to be noticeable. But the effect of his vote on the large constituencies of these days, when he does vote, is so small as not to be noticeable. When a man casts his vote with the majority for the President of his choice its effect is, in the State of New York, for instance, only an almost infinitesimal part of the whole power exerted—or, in other words, not worth talking about to his fellow-men, but yet not too small for his conscience to weigh and record.

Moreover, there is no sounder rule of political ethics than the rule which forbids us to do what all may not do, or refrain from doing what all may not refrain from doing. If all good men abstained from voting because neither candidate came up to their expectations, the country would soon be given over without restraint to the rule of the wicked, and yet every good man has just as much right to gratify his fastidiousness in this respect as Dr. Bacon or President Seelye. The notion that an active, positive, practical share in the rough and often very repulsive work of providing the nation with the best servants within reach, may be shirked by people who do not like it, and the shirking covered up by playing a little game in a corner with doll candidates, is surely a strange delusion for professed moralists to entertain.

A large part of the abstention and of the voting for sham candidates is due to forgetfulness that the election of a President is a piece of practical business of the highest importance, as it is the provision of a chief magistrate for the nation. It was not the intention of the Constitution that he should be a model for youth, or a moral teacher, or anything of that sort, but a man competent to discharge certain well-defined functions. It is the duty of the voters to put as good a man as they can get in this place as in all others—a perfect man, if possible; but government has to go on whether perfect men can be got for the offices or not. Bad men are often put into all the offices, from the Presidency down, for precisely the same reason that bad men are admitted to the United States, viz.: that it cannot be helped. This country ought to be populated, if possible, entirely by the good and pure; but it is not possible, and we consequently have to take the population as we find it, and make the best of it, as indeed of the

whole human race. There never has been a man absolutely unexceptionable on moral or other grounds in the Presidential chair; there probably never will be. In choosing a President, as in choosing everything else in this world, we have to take, not what we should like, but the best we can get. In other words, the qualifications of Presidents have to be matters of degree. We have invariably in every election to choose between two men of different degrees both of badness and goodness. When there comes an election like the present one, in which the candidates are both considered by some people unusually bad, it is very unfortunate, but such cases are common in human affairs. The Government cannot be suspended until the right man turns up. Nor can the immense organizations known as the Ins and the Outs be improved and enlightened, or made to do better, in a day. We have to wait and labor, and in the meantime use for the necessary work of the world such instruments as inevitable circumstances have put into our hands. It is not open to any man to go aside, and sulk and say that he will have no hand in choosing the governor under whom he is to live for four years, who is to command the armies and execute the laws of the country, and to be paid out of its taxes, and represent it in its relation with the outer world. He cannot avoid helping to choose him. There is no corner of the country into which political duty does not follow a voter. There is no desert for political anchorites.

### THE LANDREAU CLAIM.

WE have received many communications asking us to explain the Landreau claim, which is frequently referred to by Mr. Blaine's assailants as a piece of dangerous diplomacy. The Landreau claim was an old claim against the Peruvian Government held by one Landreau, a Frenchman by birth, whose American citizenship was at least doubtful. It was an old claim which Landreau had been for years trying to get the United States Government to back up. A resolution was once passed by the House of Representatives recommending the claim to the attention of the President, but it was thrown out by the Senate. Secretary Fish, when in office, went so far as to permit our Minister to Peru to urge "unofficially" a "speedy investigation" of it. Mr. Evarts also made some sort of report on it. But this was all the United States ever did about it. It was a claim of enormous amount to guano and nitrate deposits and other good things, and in every way most attractive, but there did not seem to be anything in it, and it was in a fair way, like the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Bill, "to sleep the sleep of death," when Mr. Blaine came into office and had his attention drawn to it.

He at once took it up with great vigor, and made it the basis of interference in the Chili-Peru quarrel then raging of a most curious kind. General Hurlbut, whom he had sent to Peru as American Minister, at first laid it down as law that Chili had no right to take territory as an indemnity from Peru in case cash was not forthcoming. Mr. Blaine overruled this view, in one of the queerest diplomatic correspondences on record, but he had previ-



ously, in instructions to General Kilpatrick, taken the ground that the question whether money or land should be taken by a conqueror should be settled by an arbitrator. A little later he threw Hurlbut overboard and sent Mr. Trescott out as a special agent to Peru to get Chili to take money, and laid it down as a rule of international law, that "between independent nations hostilities do not, from the mere existence of war, confer the right of conquest until the failure to furnish the indemnity and guarantee which can be rightly demanded." We need hardly say that this rubbish—for rubbish it is, being all but incomprehensible—originated in Mr. Blaine's brain. Nothing of the kind can be found in any text-book or in the history of any war. The right of conquest exists in virtue of the fact of conquest, and the conqueror takes his indemnity in any form he pleases. Of course Chili paid no attention to these absurd utterances.

He had before this, when Peru was completely overthrown and at the conqueror's mercy, disregarded Mr. Christianity's report that Calderon, whom the Peruvians, after their regular government had disappeared, had set up as a sort of provisional or makeshift governor, was entirely without power, or, in other words, was not a *de facto* Government at all, and directed him to recognize him as the Government of Peru. The Chilians, who had not approved of or accepted this government, thereupon arrested Calderon, as they had a perfect right to do, and placed him in confinement. Mr. Blaine then proceeded to complete the farce by treating the arrest as an offence to the United States Government, which called for an "explanation," and he intimated that the explanation "would not be satisfactory unless accompanied by the restoration or recognition of the Calderon Government." In other words, he brought us within a hair's breadth of a war with Chili, which, of course, could not accede to such a preposterous demand, any more than the United States could afford to put up with a contemptuous rejection of it. We were delivered from this embarrassing position by Mr. Frelinghuysen's accession to the State Department. He communicated with the Chilean Minister in Washington, and ended the ridiculous affair in a few words.

Now, what has all this to do with the Landreau claim? Simply this, that these strange interferences in the quarrel, and the strange demands and queer concoctions of international law, were accompanied all along by warnings that no treaty of peace must be concluded which did not provide for an investigation before some Peruvian tribunal, or recognition by the Chilians, of the Landreau claim—a claim of obscure origin and doubtful validity, held by a person whose American citizenship was not clear, and which our Government had already refused to treat as worthy of its official support, the amount of which was enormous, and which, if a good claim, would of course continue to be as good against any Power which took possession of Peru as against Peru herself.

That Mr. Blaine had a personal interest in the claim there is no proof; but the extraordinary amount of interest he showed in it, the extraordinary means to which he resorted, and

the extraordinary risks which he ran in order to save or support it, naturally excited the curiosity of all and the suspicions of a great many. The suspicions naturally rested on the revelation made by the first batch of Mulligan letters of the extent to which his mind was occupied, while in Congress, by a desire to get an interest in "the bedrock" of speculative schemes, and of his readiness to use both his official and personal interest to advance them. They have been, of course, deepened by the last batch of Mulligan letters. But what the Chilean correspondence impresses on people is not so much his corruption as his unsafeness as a foreign minister. Whether his motives in pushing the Landreau claim were pure or not, can make little difference to the business men of the country, who saw themselves brought to the edge of war with a Power possessing a powerful ironclad navy, on the childish pretext that it was bound to treat as *de facto* government, on soil occupied by its own armies, any gentleman whom the United States Secretary of State chose to designate as such, although the nominee had so little power that he was taken to jail by one policeman. In fact, no one can read the South American diplomatic correspondence of 1881 without feeling that the presence of such a person as Mr. Blaine at the head of the Government, even if he were as honest as Mr. William Walter Phelps says he is, would be a standing menace to trade and finance.

#### CLEVELAND'S INDEPENDENCE.

WE have more than once commented on what may be called the personal dishonesty and self-debasement which distinguish the present canvass from all others that have preceded it. There has happily been hitherto no such spectacle in American politics as a large body of leading editors and politicians, of good character and standing, trying to persuade people to admire and elevate to the Presidency a man whom, two months previously, they had been denouncing as a sort of national disgrace. Never before, for instance, has a politician of the standing of Mr. Warren, the editor of the *Buffalo Commercial*, and the Chairman of the Republican State Committee, been known to be advocating in July the election of a candidate of whom he was compelled to say in May:

"Edmunds only added force to the fact that if Blaine manages by hook or crook (he cannot get it in any other way) to get the Chicago nomination, his party will be put upon the defensive with a candidate of whose record they are ashamed, whose future makes the business men afraid of him, who would be consistently opposed by every truly independent newspaper in the country, and whose election, should that be brought about by some mysterious agency, would be regarded as the triumph of demagogism."

This is happily a new thing. The Presidential canvass has been marked, ever since the foundation of the Government, by much bitterness and even ferocity, by much party unscrupulousness and servility, by much readiness to stifle honest convictions and profess opinions not honestly held on great public questions; but never before has a large body of party leaders come forward unblushingly to contradict themselves within six weeks about a candidate's personal character, and make open

acknowledgment that if telling the truth about him at one time they were at another telling falsehoods.

The defences of Blaine by this class are only one degree worse than their attacks on Cleveland. The same thorough-paced falsity marks them both. Of this their attacks on him for vetoing the Five-Cent-Fare Bill are an excellent example. There have been few things in his official career which have better illustrated the strength and independence of his character than this. The bill offered an excellent chance to a demagogue to curry favor with the ignorant vote of this city, at very small expense. There was some doubt about its constitutionality—a fair chance that the railroad company would have successfully resisted it in the courts, and that, therefore, his approval would have done the company no real damage. His approval, too, would have enabled him to pose as the friend of the workman and the enemy of corporations, like the two charlatans who are now his competitors. He vetoed the bill, however, as a duty he owed to public faith, and thus has enabled conscienceless enemies like the *Chicago Tribune* to accuse him, with enough air of plausibility to impose on the ignorant, of being the friend of corporations.

The truth is, however, that it is the very quality that Governor Cleveland displayed in this matter which is giving the support of nearly all the great corporations and the great railroad operators to Blaine. Almost without exception they are giving Blaine their open or secret assistance, and the reason is obvious. The last thing the great corporations and great railroad men desire to see is men of unbending and puritanical temper about public rights in high places, such as the Presidency and Governorships. They live, and, we grant, not always unjustifiably, in a state of antagonism to the public. They are constantly in need of such favors as a lax administration of the law, or a straining of the law for their benefit. It is of the last importance to them, therefore, that high officials should either be in sympathy with them, through business interests and associations, or should be men of such easy temper and blunt sense of public duty, as to make it certain that when a corporation gets into collision with the State in any way, he will facilitate and not hinder its getting the better of the State. A better specimen of the latter kind of official could probably not be found in the United States than Blaine. He would be Gould's, or Field's, or Cameron's ideal President, and the natural consequence is that all the railroad magnates are supporting him with both voice and purse.

Cleveland, on the other hand, has given such plain proof that he is above all things a lawyer of the stern, unbending, trustee type, who will not be easily persuaded into taking "a practical business view" of things, that it is most natural that corporations should dislike and distrust him, and that this dislike and distrust should be intensified by the very act which has most exposed him to the denunciations of demagogues.

## THE APPROACHING GERMAN ELECTIONS.

THE party movements in Germany, preparatory to the general elections to the Reichstag which are to be held in the latter part of October, are full of interest. The relations of some of the political parties to each other and to the Government have undergone modifications; new combinations are to be formed, and changes of programme have become necessary. The mainspring of the whole commotion, as usual, is Prince Bismarck. He has become tired of bargaining for the support of his pet measures with the Ultramontanes or Centre party, and is now trying to form a new governmental majority through an alliance of the Conservative fractions (German Conservatives, Free Conservatives, Christian Socialists) with the National Liberals. The latter, since the secession from their ranks in 1880 of the more liberal wing, led by the late Dr. Lasker, have completely ceased to be an opposition party, and have recently undergone a sort of revival under the auspices of such former leaders as Bennigsen and Miquel. Bismarck, whose main parliamentary staff they formed in the earlier period of the *Culturkampf*, and who dropped them when they began to evince more independence than he could brook, is now again ready to lean upon their support, in addition to the more facile adherence of the Conservatives, upon which he can count at all times. The Ultramontanes, but recently allies—though intractable and exacting—are again becoming the Chancellor's most decided opponents. The other great opposition body is that of the new German-Liberal (*Deutsch-Freisinnige*) party, which lately arose out of a fusion of the Lasker Secessionists, under the lead of Rickert, Bamberger, and Gneist, with the Progressists, whose foremost spokesmen are Professor Virchow, Hänel, and Richter. Further to the left are the small fractions of the Democrats (People's party) and Socialists, while the Poles, Alsace-Lorrainers, and other particularists steadily vote with the Ultramontanes.

Bismarck will come before the new Reichstag with fresh prestige. Never since the creation of the new German Empire and the conquest of peace has his lead as Foreign Minister been so uncontestedly and brilliantly successful as now. He has drawn two-thirds of Europe into a coalition of which Germany and Austria—an humbled enemy, turned into a staunch friend—form the nucleus, and of which he is himself the arbiter. He returns from a three Emperors' conference, held under his oracular guidance, which promises to Europe a new era of peace and stability. He has proved to France that her expectation of an alliance with Russia against Germany was a chimera, and has lulled her into security concerning her expansion in the East, which makes her forget her lowered position on the European continent. He has planted the German flag on African shores, and intoxicated the German nation with expectations of colonial glory in rivalry with England. His advice is followed in Constantinople, and his word may to-morrow be decisive in Cairo, against Great Britain, and in Peking against France. And all these advantages have been secured without sacrificing a single "Pomeranian landwehr-

man" in a decade. The internal advance, too, of the Empire has been uninterrupted. The work of unification goes on slowly but steadily. The stringent anti-Socialist law has worked well; the struggle with the Ultramontanes has been reduced—by concessions, it is true—to a contention without convulsions; the State-Socialistic innovations instituted by the Chancellor have exercised a rather pacifying influence upon the laboring classes; his agrarian protection schemes have not proved a failure. It is hardly necessary to add that the army, the navy, and the whole machinery of the Empire are in a most efficient condition.

Yet, in spite of all these favorable conditions, it is not likely that the elections will give Bismarck a working majority, for the simple reason that his schemes and demands are alarming to the bulk of the middle classes. He wants to go still further in the socialistic direction by enlarging his scheme of state insurance for workmen against old age, sickness, and accidents; he wants to increase the import duties on foreign agricultural products and the tax on working capital, and to multiply the state monopolies. He seeks, moreover, a renewal of the anti-Socialist law, and a vote of the army grants for seven years more, after the expiration of the seven years' vote of 1880. He will get the Conservative and National-Liberal support for most of these things with more or less readiness, but their combined forces in the last Reichstag only numbered 125, of whom less than fifty were National Liberals. The latter may possibly secure some new seats, but the Conservatives have no such prospect, and, to make a majority, need to muster, with their allies, 199. The general tendency of German opinion is now somewhat conservative, so that there is a possibility that the German Liberals may lose a few seats. They numbered 100 in the last Reichstag. The Centre Party, including its Catholic auxiliaries, the Poles and Alsace-Lorrainers, are probably the steadiest element in the Parliament, numbering about 140. The Ultramontanes, led by Windthorst, make no secret of their intention to fight the National Liberals, their old enemies, everywhere. Bismarck can doubtless have their support, but he must pay for it.

By their ability and readiness to vote, as circumstances permit and the exigencies of the struggle for Catholic interests demand, with the liberal and radical opposition against the proposals of the Government, or with the Conservatives for them—if new concessions can be obtained—the Ultramontanes will most probably again be masters of the Parliamentary situation, and they will surely make the best of it. And thus Bismarck will again have to bargain for votes with the representatives of the Curia, though, perhaps, with a greater show of strength and determination to carry his points, if his adherents achieve considerable gains in the elections. The chasm between him and the German Liberals can be bridged over only by the surrender of the most vital principles of government, which neither side is in the least inclined to make; and the strong position occupied between them by the Ultramontane party, with its special non-German interests, affiliations, and methods, will continue to render a real parli-

amentary government by majority in Germany impossible. The fight is and must be in the main, as our Berlin correspondent points out on another page, a triangular one between Conservatives and Moderates of all shades, advanced Liberals, and Catholics. Only by his surpassing prestige and tactical abilities is Prince Bismarck enabled to govern as he does without a surrender and without a *coup d'état*.

## THE ENGLISH NAVY SCARE.

THE alarm in England over the condition of the navy, which seems to be genuine and to rest on some well-established comparisons with that of foreign Powers, and particularly that of France and Italy, will probably bring about a more thoughtful consideration of the English colonial policy than it has received within the present century. As a matter of fact, what is called the imperial policy of extensive colonial dependencies and possessions has grown up under the undisputed naval supremacy with which Great Britain came out of the great wars of the French Empire. After Trafalgar there was literally no navy left in Europe but her own, and, owing to the impoverishment of the Continental nations, this state of things continued till about 1843, when the French, under Louis Philippe, began to have a respectable sea force, and the British public was startled by a pamphlet of the Prince de Joinville maintaining that rivalry with England on the ocean was again possible for her old enemy.

But between 1843 and 1870 France was the only Power which in the smallest degree threatened English superiority. There was no Italy and there was no Germany, and for naval purposes there were no Austria and Russia. The resources of both these empires were strained to the uttermost in maintaining great land armies, and their maritime population was small, and not very hardy or enterprising. Since 1870 there has been a great change. Germany and Italy have both come into existence as great States, and France has continued with renewed vigor the naval progress which was initiated under the Empire. Moreover, Italy, which, even thirty years ago, nobody thought of as a naval Power, has become a very formidable one, having the most powerful ironclads afloat, and having a large body of excellent sailors to draw on for crews.

The result is that the old rule of English naval policy, which, during the first half of the century, was very easily followed, that the English fleet must be more than a match for the combined fleets of any other two Powers, is now not easily followed by any means; and if what very good authorities are saying be true, it is at this moment actually suspended. That is, even if it be true that the English ships now afloat could overpower the combined navies of any other two or three Powers, the fact that they have to be dispersed all over the world for the protection of distant dependencies and the greatest commerce the world has ever seen, makes the English fighting force in European waters alarmingly small. Whether, therefore, the conditions of the British Empire can continue what they are without a fresh trial of naval strength, is a question which is apparently beginning to occupy the English public



very seriously. It is now eighty years since England measured her prowess at sea with any European Power of the first order. Since then the conditions of naval warfare have wholly changed. Seamanship, in the narrower sense of the term—that is, the skill and audacity in contending with winds and waves, which have been so marked a characteristic of men of the English race for three centuries, and which English institutions have fostered—no longer plays the part it did in the efficiency of fleets. The *morale* of the men and officers has, in fact, lost much of its value, and the machinery has largely taken its place. The ship with the best engines, and best machinery for moving guns and turrets, will now, other things being equal, win the fight, and in the construction of these things England enjoys no great superiority, if any. In fact, in the old days of wooden sailing vessels the French ships were the best models and best sailers, and nowadays nobody can say with confidence that the mechanical outfit of French and Italian and German men-of-war is one whit worse than that of English men-of-war.

Of course it may turn out, when another great sea fight takes place, that English nerve and pluck have all their old place in naval warfare, and if it should, it would give England another half century of undisputed supremacy at sea. The one important naval action with ironclads which has taken place in European waters, that of Lissa, between the Italians and Austrians, was won by Austrian skill in manœuvring, and there is no reason to suppose that British commanders have heads less cool and hearts less bold than in Nelson's day, or that they will ram any less effectively than they used to cannonade. But, even since Lissa, the deadly torpedo has appeared on the scene, and made enormous strides, and apparently promises to make a steam launch with two men in it a shape of dread to the greatest ironclad afloat; so that of all the uncertain problems in international politics to-day, there is probably none more uncertain than the value of fleets and the relative maritime strength of the great Powers. A serious shock to confidence in England's ability to take care of her foreign stations, and to protect her amazing commerce against swift cruisers, would probably be the most momentous political event in the old world since Waterloo.

#### ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY.

LONDON, September 20.

THE most considerable change which has ever passed in the European relations of England is that which this generation has seen—her renunciation of the old idea of playing a part in Continental wars and alliances. Palmerston was the last Prime Minister of the old school; yet even before his death the idea had established itself that Britain was rather an Indian and colonial than a Continental Power, with nothing to gain and much to lose in the play of European politics. The new view is partly due to the growth of a more pacific spirit, and the aversion of a democracy for secret diplomacy; partly, also, to the vast increase of the armies of the great European states, with which it is obviously impossible for a small army like ours to contend. Two points, however, remain on the European main land in which British interests are still deemed

to be involved, and which are, so to speak, cords attaching us to the tangled web of Continental politics.

One is Belgium, important on account of the position of Antwerp, a strong naval fortress which lies opposite the mouth of the Thames, and would, in the hands of a strong Power, be a menace to it. Having, in the old days when we always took a hand in the game, been parties to the establishment of the Belgian kingdom, and feeling also this concern about Antwerp, we concluded a new treaty, guaranteeing Belgium in 1870, when her independence seemed threatened by the war between Germany and France, the latter of whom had been shown to have entertained designs of annexation. The other point is at the extreme opposite end of Europe—viz., Constantinople, and the neighboring shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. Here, however, England's interest is not personal, as in the case of Belgium, but is held to be a part of that general interest which she has in the Eastern Mediterranean because that sea forms part of the short route to India. Doubtful as it may well be deemed whether it can make any difference to India or ourselves who holds the Bosphorus, a large section of English opinion would have supported Lord Beaconsfield in 1878, had he carried out his threat of declaring war against Russia for the sake of saving from her grasp the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire; nor is it certain that even now any English Ministry would be permitted to stand by and see this famous sea highway closed or pass under the control of any great Power.

One may say, therefore, that, except as regards Belgium, English foreign policy is now purely Indian and colonial. But that means a good deal, for India is taken to include the route to India, and therefore to compel us to watch over Asia Minor, Persia, the Levant, and Egypt, while our colonial interests may involve contact and contest with any or all of the naval and colonizing Powers—France, Holland, Portugal, Italy, Germany, possibly even Spain. Our withdrawal, therefore, from the territorial or dynastic complications of the Continent has by no means freed us from the necessity of constant and serious diplomatic dealings with the great Powers. Their friendship is still important to us, their hostility still unpleasant, and so far from getting more and more away from them, as Mr. Gladstone has doubtless always wished to do, the last two years have involved us more closely with them, for we have occupied Egypt, a country almost covered, so to speak, with treaties, giving to seven or eight of the European Powers rights which we cannot brush away.

These facts may serve to explain to American readers why it is that England, after all the professions of non-intervention repeated for the last thirty years, has now to watch Continental politics so closely. Our newspapers are almost as full of them as in the days of Castlereagh or Canning. Few people understand what it all means, but it is felt, not without discomfort, to mean something. It is like a growling storm, heard from along the horizon, while the foreground is bathed in sunshine.

The chief diplomatic sensation of the last few weeks has been the attack made by several of the leading German newspapers on England and English policy. Everybody knew that there was little liking for this country among the Germans, but this journalistic outburst was so sudden as to be startling, and is generally deemed to have been, if not prompted, at least tacitly encouraged, by Bismarck himself, whose attitude during the recent London Conference on the affairs of Egypt had been decidedly cold. Whether the dictator of the Continent is really angry with us, or is only pretending for some occult purpose

to be so; whether he is seeking to fan into a flame the embers of wrath between France and ourselves, and thinks to encourage France by showing her that we have no friends on the Continent—these are questions it is hardly worth while to discuss. But there is something significant in this apparent alienation of England from the two strongest of her neighbors, with neither of whom, for many years past, has she had any serious ground of quarrel. Moreover, there are some signs of the development in England of two adverse currents of opinion, the one urging the conciliation of France, the other the defiance of France and cultivation of a German alliance.

France, it must be confessed, is not an agreeable neighbor. English Liberals used to set down all her old misdeeds—the tricks she played us in the Crimean War, the tricks she tried to play upon Italy, the expedition to Mexico, the wanton folly of the quarrel with Prussia in 1870—to Louis Napoleon and the knot of unprincipled men who surrounded him. The Republic, they thought, will turn over a new leaf—will respect honor and good faith, will love peace, will be animated by those philanthropic sentiments toward the uncivilized races which we in England have at last begun to cherish. And of course one free people will love another free people. However, as time went on, it appeared that the Republic was, in foreign and colonial affairs, not so very different from the Empire. The snake had only changed its skin. Unable to make trouble in Europe, France determined to restore her self-esteem by extending her boundaries in other parts of the world. On what seem slender pretexts, she practically annexed Tunis. She picked a quarrel with the Hovas in Madagascar, and in prosecuting it ill-treated English missionaries and showed little respect to the English flag. She was a disagreeable bed-fellow in Egypt while the Dual Control lasted, and has intrigued right and left against England both then and since. She has alarmed the Australian colonies by the plan of flooding her penal settlements in the Western Pacific with large consignments of convicts, many of whom, it is feared, will be sure to escape to Australia. Last of all, she has turned her war with Tonquin into a war with China, which is sure to affect British and American commerce, even if it does not endanger the lives of all Europeans in that country. I do not say that this is a perfectly fair account of the recent behavior of the French, but it is the sort of account which the English public has received, and which puts it into a decidedly bad humor. No one wishes for an open quarrel, still less for war—the interests uniting the countries are too numerous and too close for that to be contemplated. But one sees the sentiment growing that there is little use in trying to be civil to France about Egypt or anything else, for she will only mistake civility for cowardice; while the often repeated warning that the French fleet is now nearly as strong as ours is received with so much uneasiness that it would not be surprising if the Government were soon to be pressed to increase largely the number and strength of our vessels.

How far the French people are irritated against England, I will not undertake to say; but their newspapers certainly strive to make them so, and seem, by the way they persist, to be succeeding. Nothing is more difficult than to estimate the influence exercised by newspapers in any country other than one's own, or to appraise the value of the report that such and such a journal is under the control of some financial ring, which works it for the purposes of stock-jobbing. In France, even more, perhaps, than in England, a great deal of newspaper writing is mere writing, which, though read with approval and sympathy, has little effect on action. That there is a serious wish in France to quarrel with England cannot

be imagined. French sentiment is at present averse to all big wars, because they mean big expenditures; and to quarrel with England on some trumpety colonial pretext, while Germany, Italy, and even Spain, are all unfriendly, would be too absurd. Nevertheless, there is on both sides a lack of cordiality, a disposition to expect intrigues and affronts, which may easily have important consequences. Cases arise, especially in connection with Turkish and Egyptian affairs, in which the joint action of the great Powers has been held to afford the best prospect of benefiting the populations of those countries and preventing war. Such joint action becomes less likely the more mutually distrustful the Powers become.

As for Germany, the dislike is all on one side. Our people have no particular aversion to the Germans, no fear of them, certainly no jealousy of them in oceanic or colonial matters. We have never thought of Germany as a rival to England on the seas, nor as having interests anywhere opposed to our own. The average English traveller doesn't find the average German congenial, and Bismarck inspires repulsion as well as admiration, owing, I think, neither to his high-handed treatment of the Parliament nor to his protective policy, but to the impression of unscrupulous boldness which his play, exquisitely skilful as it was, in the Schleswig-Holstein question made in 1864-5-6. Mr. Gladstone is supposed to be anti-Prussian in his sympathies—one hardly knows why, unless because Prussia has been so vigorously anti-ecclesiastical; but in this respect he doesn't quite represent the nation, which was, on the whole, pleased to see the establishment of German unity, and respects the qualities of solid greatness which the Germans have shown. English political party has now little to do with our foreign sympathies. The Tories were formerly pro-Austrian; if anything they are now (or at least some of their prints are) pro-Prussian, for no better reason than that it is convenient to blame the Ministry for subservience to France. The Liberals, however, are not pro-French. Neither Mr. Gladstone's supposed leanings that way, nor the fact that France is a Republic, has affected their mood, which is one of a desire to have as little as possible to do with any Continental Power. We have so little consciousness of hostility to Germany that the tirade of the German newspapers astonishes and amuses more than it provokes us. The idea that the delay of our colonial and foreign officers in answering the German Government as to whether we claimed some wretched spot on the coast of Africa should indicate jealousy of Germany, or anything but official procrastination, is too childish to be even refuted. The desire for a *rap-prochement* with Germany, to which I have already referred, is due not to fear of her, but to the feeling that as she practically controls Austria and largely influences Russia, her support of any line of action we might wish to adopt in Egypt or Turkey would be decisive. This it doubtless would, but a price might have to be paid, and what would that price be?

The present irritation—quarrel we cannot call it, for there is nothing to quarrel about—is another instance of the tremendous power for mischief which the press exercises in international questions. Half-a-dozen editors can, apparently, do now in Europe what half-a-dozen mistresses, and father confessors, and court favorites used to do two centuries ago in setting nations by the ears. Fortunately, blows are not so likely to follow; but the mere embitterment of feeling and disturbance to commerce caused are grave evils. Yet every country seems to assume that the journals of another speak that other's sentiments, though at home we smile when a French or German newspaper cites the *Times* or *Standard* as the exponent of our ideas or intentions. Y.

#### GERMAN ELECTORAL ISSUES.

BERLIN, September 15.

THE next elections to the Reichstag will be held towards the latter part of October. In Bavaria and in some smaller States the order for making up and exposing the lists has already been given, but in Prussia the Government holds back, and does not even publish its programme nor intimate its intentions. The reason of this policy is manifest. At the last election in 1881 a new assortment of duties and taxes was laid before the people, the tobacco monopoly was vehemently exacted, and the patrimony of the disinherited classes was loudly called for. But instead of gaining a victory by making these demands, Bismarck suffered a heavy defeat, for people had ample time to think over all these economical and socialistic patent medicines which they were expected to vote for, and made up their mind to defeat a policy pregnant with the worst consequences. At present just the opposite course is resorted to. By keeping quiet, Prince Bismarck expects to hold his political opponents in check. Since the beginning of this month, however, the political campaign has commenced in earnest. In all parts of the country meetings are held, papers spread, and incriminations or recriminations made. Although we have not yet reached that political ripeness, or rather putrefaction, which, as far as the candidates for the Presidency are concerned, now manifests itself in your country, I am sorry to say that we are making rapid progress in that direction. Here the first reproach which is made against a political opponent is treachery towards the country, or at least hostility to the Empire. A National Liberal calls a real Liberal a traitor, a Protestant Conservative nicknames the Roman Catholic an enemy of the fatherland, and Bismarck's organs revile those who do not agree with him, and just now especially those who differ from him in colonization matters, as traitors to the Empire. Like master, like man; but, worse still, letters are forged and published, passages are quoted at random from a literary man's former pamphlets, in order to prove him an agent or agitator for a foreign Government. And at the head of the small fry stand court preachers and Government officers who long for promotion. Anti-Semitism is played out, and people laugh at the bait; neither does Manchesterdom draw any more, for bread has not become cheaper by the victories of the protectionists, and the economic prospect grows more gloomy every day. Thus stronger expedients are resorted to in order to make the people swallow what its so-called "only friends" have prepared for them.

In spite of the silence of the Government in regard to its policy, however, it is not difficult to find out what it is driving at. First, it wants still to increase the duty on rye, hitherto half a mark per hundredweight. This duty is now to be enlarged four-fold, viz., to two marks, which will enhance the price about 30 per cent. of the present value. Our agrarians demand it as their share in the bargain which they made with the ironmongers five years ago. The latter, of course, will be the next to apply for more protection. According to the newly instituted statistical inquiries, not quite 10 per cent. of the farming interest is benefited by such a fearful increase, and it is the small farmer, as well as the workingman and the poorer class in general, who will have to suffer for the benefit of our landed aristocracy. Formerly the official organs tried to prove that the foreign producer or manufacturer paid the duties laid by our Government; now they are eager to instil the notion that, however high the taxes and duties laid on rye and wheat may be, the price of bread is independent of such a

policy, and that it is only the baker who loses what the small minority of our agrarians gain. To refute this nonsense the Liberal papers have compared the prices of rye, wheat, and flour for the last five years. Although any man who can read is now able to draw his conclusions from these sober facts, the Conservatives do not give up the fight, but pretend that wholesale prices are quite indifferent to the retail trade, and that the retailer profits exclusively by the difference. From this point of view it would of course be of no consequence whether the duty on rye and wheat were increased or not, as the consumer is in no danger from the higher duties. If, however, the four-fold duty of two marks on rye should be carried, the following greatest six real-estate owners in Prussia would gain in proportion to the present duty of half a mark—

	Marks.
1. Duke of Arenberg on 55 square miles (1 German square mile=22 English square miles).....	1,611,060
2. Prince of Thurn and Taxis on 55 square miles.....	1,611,060
3. Duke of Brunswick on 50 square miles.....	1,466,460
4. Prince of Fuerstenberg on 50 square miles.....	1,466,460
5. Duke of Talleyrand on 31 square miles.....	908,052
6. Prince of Salm-Salm on 28 square miles.....	820,179
Making in all.....	7,883,271
As, besides, our agrarians demand the abolition of the taxes on manors and baronial estates (Rittergueter), the above named gentlemen would gain in proportion.....	1,970,817

or more than \$2,500,000 a year, which of course would be borne by the consumers and taxpayers.

The next bill the Government will submit to the Reichstag is the abolition of all private insurance business and its transfer to the State. The proceedings of the last session of the Reichstag in relation to the accident insurance companies proved that the Opposition were helpless against the united action of the Conservatives and Ultramontanes. Next time a greater practical and more valuable advantage will be derived by and for State Socialism. If, consequently, that majority be not broken by the next elections, the people will not only have to pay a four-fold duty on rye, but also to accept a measure of such enormous bearing upon its self-government, its financial interests, and its economical independence. If fire and marine insurance companies be run by the Government, the latter will not stop at swallowing any other lucrative private business. In the background lurks still more mischief. A majority submitting to Bismarck's dictates will provoke the reintroduction of his old favorite schemes, which were even rejected by the last Reichstag, as, the tobacco monopoly, the "surtaxe d'entrepôt," the doing away with the secret voting of universal suffrage, the biennial instead of annual adoption of the budget, and other popular rights.

What, then, will be the result of the elections? I really cannot say. It is the more difficult to foretell as the party formerly most potent, the National Liberals, has undergone an essential change.

This is not the first time, although as a party it is only seventeen years old. During the conflict of Bismarck with the Prussian Second Chamber they belonged to the Party of Progress, but after the victory over Austria they separated from the main body of the Liberals, and assisted the Chancellor in his new policy for the reconstruction of Germany. From 1867 to 1878 they had their best time, for in coöperating with the Government they introduced liberal laws into the statute-book and promoted a series of reforms which answered the wishes of the people and placed the North German Confederation on a permanent and solid basis. Bismarck, who likewise fought the "Junker" and bureaucratic rule, was then an ardent free-trader, and developed the old Stein-Hardenberg era, assisted by Minister Delbrück, who put the Chancellor's economic ideas into shape. As the National Liberals then numbered about 120 to 150 mem-



bers, they held the balance of power, and although not forming a majority, they were the most influential party. These relations, satisfactory to the Chancellor as well as to the commonwealth, lasted till about 1878, when Bismarck went over to the protectionists. Only a part of his former supporters followed him; the more independent stood aside, and in his home policy even became his opponents. In 1880 they seceded from the main stock, and were, therefore, called Secessionists. These were about fifty in number, while the National Liberals remained about forty strong. With the exception of two able men, Herr von Bennigsen and Miquel, the talent, the parliamentary experience, and the independent character were on the side of the Secessionists, who last spring united with their old friends, the Party of Progress, which stood nearest to them in its political views and aims. In this way a strong Liberal party of just 100 members was formed, whose influence was immediately felt in the Reichstag.

Nothing, however, was done on their part to break off their former friendly relations with the National Liberals. But these gentlemen considered the independent movement of their former friends as an attack on their position, and ordered an advance along the whole line, not against their mutual opponents, the Conservatives and Ultramontanes, as would have befitted their former policy, but against the united German Liberals. In order to leave no doubt of their intent, they nominated candidates against the Liberals in almost all election districts, and, without asking for a consideration, placed themselves unconditionally at the disposal of Prince Bismarck. This is just the ideal which the Chancellor wishes to realize. If possible, he wants to have two majorities—the Conservatives and Ultramontanes on one side, and the Conservatives and National Liberals on the other—which he can play off at pleasure against the Liberals or against each other. For this reason the National Liberals are soft-soaped, and their organs boast that Bismarck is desirous of being on intimate terms with them, that he will honor their services, and that the subordinate questions of home policy are of no account when the greatness and welfare of the Empire are at stake. The Southern Germans are in this respect more eager than the Northern, and their leaders have entered on the campaign by declaring their willingness to vote for the fourfold duty on rye and for the passage of the so-called social-reform measures of the Government. In short, they out-Bismarck Bismarck, and are his most ardent followers. Their name is but a reminiscence, and a mere cover for all those who under a Liberal flag sail with Conservative wind. The Centre now fears that its former bitter enemies may obtain the ascendancy, and will rob it of its commanding position. Until now, the Catholic leaders have treated as a power with Bismarck, but if the National Liberals should, as they expect, conquer about thirty seats and form an alliance with the Conservatives (which under the present circumstances they cannot avoid), then the Centre will have to relax a little and accept conditions from Bismarck. The Ultramontanes therefore pass the word to defeat the new left wing of the Conservatives, i. e., the National Liberals, while on the other hand they cannot help coöperating with the old Conservatives. Hence it will not be sufficient for the Liberals to maintain their ground; they must gain at least as many seats as the National Liberals will lose, to form also a party of respectable numbers, if they expect to prevent the Chancellor from carrying out his most obnoxious plan. In my opinion, whether they conquer or lose a few seats, the result will not differ much from the present situation.

The Chancellor, who will thus have his hands

free, is very clever in raising side-issues and in masking his real object. Thus at present he acts the colonial policy before the curtain—a play just now very popular, because the people do not understand anything of its bearing, its temptations and dangers. The colonial craze rages like an epidemic all over the country. It is the German edition of the French chauvinism; it cannot be refuted by reasoning, but must be crushed by bitter experience. Closely connected with it is the question of subsidizing mail steamers to countries with which as yet we have little or no commerce. Although Bismarck is very cautious, and promises his assistance only to such private settlements in Africa as are unjustly attacked by other Powers, his followers again and again assail those as traitors who do not believe in colonization schemes on a wider scale, and who warn against squandering our national resources in countries and for objects which jeopard the solid development of our strength. +++

#### MONTALEMBERT AND CORNUDET.

PARIS, September 14.

A FEW years ago were published the 'Letters of Montalembert to a College Friend'—letters written between 1827 and 1830, when Montalembert was between seventeen and twenty years old, full of religious ardor and enthusiasm, of fire and of talent. When Montalembert took his seat in the House of Peers (he was one of the last hereditary peers), he astonished the House by his maiden speech. He professed an ardent Catholicism, and a new sort of liberalism which reconciled faith with liberty. The 'Letters' were in this same spirit. The friend to whom they were written was M. Cornudet, who remained to the last united to Montalembert by his religious principles, though their two paths soon became very different in politics and in social life. The reputation of Montalembert soon became universal; the reputation of M. Léon Cornudet is very limited. Young men are very prompt to make alliances; the friendship of Montalembert and of Cornudet began when they were both full of hope and of illusions. On the 10th of December, 1827, Montalembert writes the treaty of alliance:

"God has given us great benefits: he has made us live in a free country; he has enabled us to profit by the light of our century; he has sanctified our life by religion; he has embellished it with friendship. Our gratitude will never equal his goodness. Religion, liberty, such are the eternal foundations of virtue. To serve God, to be free, these are our duties. We will employ in their fulfilment all the resources, all the means which Providence may place in our hands. We will love God with all our hearts, and ourselves as ourselves. In an age when the sublime truths of Christianity are disregarded, we will sacrifice all our inclinations, we will conquer all opposition, so as to remain faithful to them; we will exactly observe the divine laws, and we will never be led by respect to men into guilty weaknesses. We will try to put in practice universal charity, and the unfortunate will always be the objects of our care and our compassion. Sincerely convinced, we will banish from our minds the doubts which may be conceived by a weak and vain reason. Liberty will be our only passion; we will never cease to work in order to establish and consolidate it in our country. No sacrifice will cost us too much whenever it becomes necessary to defend it. For the sake of liberty, we will triumph over all the obstacles which might arise from our family relations or our personal interest. We will give ourselves with ardor to all the studies which will enlighten us and make us more fit to serve it; and if liberty must have martyrs, to die for it will be our recompense. By living for our country, we shall also live for God; and whoever has lived for God and country can die without pain."

Such was the programme which Montalembert made for himself and his friend, for this declaration is a complete programme. He adds: "It seems that Providence has brought our hearts together in the midst of an irreligious and immoral

youth, in order to double the force which she has given to each of us, and help us to do more good. Blessed by religion and born of the remarkable conformity of our sentiments, our friendship will last as long as our religion and our patriotism—in other words, will end only with our lives."

To understand well the state of mind of these two young men, it must be added that after this declaration, made by Montalembert and fully accepted by Léon Cornudet, they both received the communion together. We must remember, too, that liberalism was, in the years which preceded the revolution of 1828, generally associated with anti-clericalism, with free thought, with a sort of Voltairianism and of scepticism. The opposition against Charles X. was based chiefly on the confusion which was made in the mind and councils of the King between the interests of the Church and the interests of the throne. The formula of the time was "Le trône et l'autel." The new men who were entering the political world were singing the songs of Béranger and receiving the lessons of the *Globe* and of the *National*; they applauded all the attacks made against the priests, the Jesuits, the congregations. If ever there was an infidel generation, it was the generation which triumphed in 1830. The Romantic school was, to be sure, slightly tainted with Catholic ideas, but it looked only on the artistic side of religion. It liked old cathedrals; it carved but little for the doctrines which were preached in them. The true religion of the Romantics was "art for art's sake." It affected to have no morality, no social aim. How was it that, in the midst of such a society, when religion was almost as much despised by those who pretended to make of it a mere "instrumentum regni" as by those who were working against the Bourbons—how could a few young men, completely unknown, separate themselves from all the leaders of opinion, and agree on this new programme, the living alliance of Catholicism and of liberty? These men were Montalembert, Cornudet, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Dupanloup; they became the founders of a school which has received the name of Liberal Catholicism.

The son of Léon Cornudet has just republished the letters of Montalembert of this early period, adding to them the answers of his father to his eloquent friend. We see in the new volume how they exchanged their thoughts, their preoccupations. At an age when most young men are thinking only of pleasure, they talk together of Cicero's treatise 'De Amicitia,' of the "Don Carlos" of Schiller, of the 'Cinq Mars' of Vigny, who was then beginning to be famous. Montalembert, who knew English as well as French (in fact, he kept a slight English accent all his lifetime), revealed and explained to his friend the beauties of Byron, of Cowper, of Thomas Moore. He translated for him the speeches of Grattan.

"I can conceive," he says, "of Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox leaving the House of Commons, after having crushed their adversaries by the most sublime eloquence, and enjoying the pleasures of a jovial dinner. I can conceive of Mr. Grattan, after fifty years of glory, amusing himself in playing at hide-and-seek with young girls. But when you are a mere mortal, obscure and unknown, when you are lost in the crowd of the men of fashion who think themselves obliged to go to three or four parties every night, and be crushed while saying that they are amused, I see neither honor nor pleasure in such a life: I only see in it a loss of time and a mortal tedium."

Montalembert wished to be famous. He could not bear obscurity, his love of glory was intense. Speaking of William Pitt, he says: "When, in the presence of the two Chambers and of all that was illustrious in England, his remains were taken to the vault where lay his father, the immortal Chatham, the King-of-arms could well say, 'Non sibi sed patriæ vixit.' . . . Why should

not our contemporaries some day inscribe this on our tomb?" He scolds Cornudet for his want of ambition, and reproaches him with thinking as a "future notary." Cornudet was less ardent than his friend, and more reserved, but his preoccupations were not in the least material; he enjoyed literature very keenly. When the poems of André Chénier were published in 1829 by Latouche, he writes to Montalembert:

"Do you know the verses of André Chénier, who died so young on the scaffold during the Revolution—so young, so full of life, such a poet! I do not know a destiny which I could envy more. André Chénier was not twenty-five years old when he died; none of his illusions had yet disappeared; he had not yet felt his heart grow cold, and he died for a great cause. I imagine that his last day must have been very fine, and that his last reflections, his last thoughts, must have been very happy. They say, indeed, that he walked cheerfully to the scaffold. André had, like his brother, given his vows and his first writings to the cause of the Revolution; but, like all the honest men of his time, he did not wish to follow it in its rapid march, and before the death of Louis XVI. he had declared against it. His Ode to Charlotte Corday, his dithyrambs, protested against the tyranny of the executioner with an energy worthy of the ancients. No, I cannot imagine anything more complete or finer than the fate of André Chénier. To have felt all the pleasures of life, friendship, love, to have felt them as a poet, to have written admirable verses, and to die at twenty-five, leaving a name to posterity, a spotless name, a glorious name; to die so young for the cause of liberty; to die in full possession of all the energy of the soul; to die protesting against the oppressors of your country—I cannot conceive of anything finer or more worthy of envy."

There is more pathos than humor in the letters of Cornudet. Both correspondents were somewhat enthusiastic. Still, Cornudet has occasionally a touch of irony. Victor Cousin was the chief of the philosophical school of 1830, a school which went under the name of eclecticism, as it pretended to gather the truth, as the bees gather honey, from all systems. Cousin was very handsome and very eloquent, but his philosophy is hardly worth the name, and it has not survived him. Cornudet gave an account to Montalembert of the lectures of the young professor of philosophy: "Cousin spoke yesterday of the Constitution, he spoke to-day of the King; he was decorated this morning."

The problem of the conciliation of Catholicism with liberty was always before the two correspondents. After 1830 Cornudet says that Paul Louis Courier was right when he wrote: "The cart rolls on the plain—nothing will stop it any more." The cause of liberty had triumphed, but Cornudet did not like the tone, the spirit of the Liberals. As for Montalembert, who was an aristocrat although a Liberal, he expressed his fears of His Majesty the Number and His Divinity Money. He hoped that Belgium, Piedmont, and Spain, which were preparing their revolution after the revolution of France, would not "derive from it as a necessary consequence the atheism of the law and of the state and the democratic leveling."

"If this spirit triumphs," he says to Cornudet, "I am for ever its ardent and implacable enemy. . . . It will cost me much to be left behind among the reactionaries, as I have always loved progress and light; it will cost me much to renounce all these fine theories of the perfectibility of the human race which are so seductive; but conscience and reason oblige me to do so. No, the liberty of which we dreamt, you and I, in the fervor of our young souls, was not this liberty, which is a formless mixture of journalism and of industrialism; it had not for its principle to condemn the past and to ignore another life; it was a creation, at once historical, poetical, and religious; it was proud and holy; it bound man to everything that was pure and elevated; it spoke to the most noble and intimate part of his nature, not only to his mouth and to his purse."

These early utterances of Montalembert and of his friend will be found interesting to all those

who have watched in France the double development of the school of the Liberal Catholics and of the Ultramontane school of the *Univers*. Even now the battle is raging; and M. de Falloux, who is the last champion of the Liberal Catholics since the death of Bishop Dupanloup, made only a few weeks ago an eloquent protest against the school of the Ultramontane *Univers*. This protest was made in the *Correspondant* on the occasion of the review which the *Univers* had made of the 'Life of Bishop Dupanloup,' by the Abbé Lagrange.

## Correspondence.

### BLAINE AND GARFIELD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Blaine poses before the country as the confidential friend of Garfield, and holds up his appointment to Garfield's Cabinet as a certificate of character. But his relations with Garfield by no means justify the inference which he tries to have the people of this country draw from them. General Garfield was a politician as well as Blaine, and politics "make strange bed-fellows." What General Garfield thought of Blaine in private or when unreservedly talking with intimate friends—when unbosoming himself, so to speak—was not altogether what his public acts would signify. After the close of the session of the Forty-second Congress, which was made memorable by the investigation of the Crédit Mobilier, General Garfield told one of his associates in that Congress that he had no doubt that Mr. Blaine instigated that investigation for the purpose of killing off prominent Republicans, in order to make his own way clearer to the attainment of the position for which he is now a candidate, and which was then the object of his ambition.

The circumstances fully accord with General Garfield's suspicion. During the campaign of 1872, charges were made that Congress had been corrupted by the Crédit Mobilier, and Mr. Blaine's name had been mentioned among those to whom the stock of this company had been issued. Mr. Blaine felt sure that these charges could not be substantiated against himself, and therefore, when Congress assembled, he took the floor and read an extract from an obscure newspaper charging him with bribery, and demanded an investigation. In his dramatic style, he said that members of Congress should be not simply pure, but, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. Mr. Randall, and Mr. Eldridge, and other prominent Democrats deprecated an investigation, saying that Mr. Blaine's constituents had evidently discredited the charge, and that an examination of the subject by a committee of Congress would serve no good purpose. But Mr. Blaine insisted, as a matter of right belonging to him, not as Speaker but as a member of the House, that an investigation should be made, and added to the theatrical display by saying that he would like to have the Committee consist entirely of Democrats. If it was his purpose, as General Garfield suspected, to involve prominent Republicans in disgrace, he took the right course to accomplish it, and he was partly successful.

Mr. Blaine's treatment of Roscoe Conkling, after he became the dominating spirit in Garfield's Cabinet, bears on its face evidence of a similar selfish purpose. President Garfield personally liked Mr. Conkling, and had no reason in the world for quarrelling with him, much less for humiliating him and breaking him down; and no one believes that of his own accord he would have pursued Conkling as he did. It was the selfish and designing influence of James G. Blaine which caused the rupture between Garfield and Conkling, which was the occasion, cer-

tainly, of Garfield's death. The same purpose was displayed in the opposition which Blaine encouraged against the election of Judge Folger for Governor of New York two years ago, directed in this instance against President Arthur.

Mr. Blaine has magnetism, but it is the personal force of an abundantly vital nature, that hesitates at nothing which will contribute to his own personal advancement. It is the magnetism of a skilfully disguised selfishness, the carefully cultivated art of a demagogue. General Garfield understood Blaine, and he thought it better to cultivate Blaine's friendship, selfish and perfidious as he knew it naturally was and was liable to prove in his own case, rather than to provoke his hostility. This was the opinion which General Garfield entertained of Blaine when thinking of him apart from his actual or possible connection with his own personal and political fortunes.

L. L.

September 19, 1884.

### A PRESIDENT "ON THE MAKE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the event of the election of Mr. Blaine to the Presidency, would he not interpret it as an approval, or at least a condonation, by the American people of his peculiar views regarding the duties and morality of a public officer?

That being so, would it not be the duty of the press and of the people, throughout his administration, to scrutinize closely every veto, appointment, recommendation, and other public act of his to see if he was not "making himself useful," "laying an anchor to windward," or in some other way administering public trusts to the advantage of private interests?

Would not such a state of things be very anomalous, and something altogether unknown in all our previous Presidencies, from Washington to Arthur?

X. X.

BALTIMORE, MD., September 24.

### THE POLITICAL DUTY OF CLERGYMEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of September 25 you ask why it is that clergymen do not come forward and express themselves openly on this grave question of public morality now occupying all minds. The query is pertinent: they, of all men, should lead in the revolt against corruption in high places. In these days I think of my father, a clergyman, who, during our war and in the anti-slavery days before it, believed it not only his duty but his privilege to take his stand openly and boldly for truth and right, and lend his aid to them with voice and pen. He was a Republican then—he would be an anti-Blaine man now. If he were alive in his old vigor to-day, he would not be of those who keep silence! If the world goes wrong because people are too timid or too lazy to hinder, whose fault is it? And what excuse have public teachers and preachers for neglecting their responsibilities?

A CLERGYMAN'S DAUGHTER.

CONNECTICUT, September 26.

### WOMEN IN THE CANVASS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am sure that I express the feeling of many other women besides myself when I say that to me the present political situation is one of the deepest interest. However unacquainted with the details of political affairs in general, it is perfectly easy for any one to comprehend the importance of the present issue as one of plain morality and practical good government. It is distressing to note the demoralizing influence of "party" politics in blinding the eyes and warping



the judgments of really honest and worthy men, who would themselves scorn to be guilty of such things as are charged against the Republican candidate—who would regard the mere accusation as an intolerable insult. That these men should show themselves insensible and indifferent in the matter proves how low we are fallen. But though anxious, I yet hope. I must believe that the intelligence and moral sense of the people at large will be found equal to the demand made upon them. It is possible this country that we love is destined to pass through a period of degradation and misery before the day of better things sets in—it is possible, but I cannot think it probable.

Cannot women, in whom the moral sense is supposed to be strongest, and who are free from the entanglements of party, do something toward influencing in the right direction the men with whom they are in contact, opening the eyes of the would-be blind to this clearest of issues? If they are without the means of acting in a direct way for the support of the right, have they not enough enthusiasm for it to try to aid it in such ways as they can?

AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN WOMAN.

#### COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE VIRTUES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a book published some years ago in New York, called 'Sidney Smith's Wit and Wisdom,' there occurs the following passage, page 290. Besides being a wise and a witty man and a famous preacher, Sidney Smith was also a writer on moral philosophy:

"You spend a great deal of ink about the character of the present Prime Minister. Grant you all that you write; I say, I fear he will ruin Ireland, and pursue a line of policy destructive to the true interest of his country: and then you tell me he is faithful to Mrs. Perceval and kind to the Master Percevals! What are, undoubtedly, the first qualifications to be looked to in a time of the most serious public danger? Somehow or another (if public and private virtue must always be incompatible), I should prefer that he destroyed the domestic happiness of Wood or Cockell, owed for the veal of the preceding year, whipped his boys, and saved his country."

H.

LAWRENCE, KAN., September 23.

[In the same sense is the following passage from Lord Mahon's 'History of England,' which another correspondent brings to our notice:

"In the whole range of our history I know not where to find a more upright and unsullied public character than that of Somers. He had contracted nothing of the baseness and venality of his age. He had touched pitch and was not defiled. He had all the knowledge, but none of the pedantry, of his profession. He loved the law of England—not, as too many seem to love it, merely for the sake of the dress that defiles it, but as the armory from which, when threatened either by democracy or by despotism, we may draw our readiest weapons, and which may prevent recourse to any other. As no man was ever more deserving of the veneration of posterity, so no one was ever more beloved in private life. Perhaps the only blemish in his private life was an excessive passion for women."

Add to the foregoing this extract from George Eliot, in her 'Impressions of Theophrastus Such':

"Until we have altered our dictionaries, and have found some other word than *moral* to stand in popular use for the duties of man to man, let us refuse to accept as moral the contractor who enriches himself by using large machinery to make pasteboard soles pass as leather for the feet of unhappy conscripts fighting at miserable odds against invaders; let us rather call him a miscreant, though he were the tenderest, most faithful of husbands, and contend that his own experience of home happiness makes his reckless infliction of suffering on others all the more atrocious. Let us refuse to accept as

*moral any political leader who should allow his conduct in relation to great issues to be determined by egoistic passion, and boldly say that he would be less immoral, even though he were as lax in his personal habits as Sir Robert Walpole, if at the same time his sense of the public welfare were supreme in his mind; quelling all pettier impulses beneath a magnanimous impartiality.* And though we were to find among that class of journalists who live by recklessly reporting injurious rumors, insinuating the blackest motives in opponents, descending at large, and with an air of infallibility, on dreams which they both find and interpret, and stimulating bad feeling between nations by abusive writing which is as empty of real conviction as the rage of a pantomime king, and would be ludicrous if its effects did not make it appear diabolical—though we were to find among these a man who was benignancy itself in his own circle, a healer of private differences, a soother in private calamities, let us pronounce him, nevertheless, flagrantly immoral, a root of hideous cancer in the commonwealth, turning the channels of instruction into feeders of social and political disease."—ED. NATION.]

#### EVOLUTION IN THE CHURCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your issue No. 909 contains a note on the controversy now in progress in the Southern Presbyterian Church concerning Doctor Woodrow's views on evolution. The religious press has been engaged for some time in an active discussion on the subject; but the action of the Board of Directors of Columbia Seminary, taken last week, is now at hand, and is the first official utterance from which the position of the Church may be learned.

The chair of "Natural Science in connection with Revealed Religion" was established in 1850 at Columbia Seminary. It was the first of its kind. The only example of a similar department was the chair of Natural Science in the New College of the Free Church at Edinburgh, the design of which, however, was to teach natural theology. Since then Princeton Seminary has established a chair, which Doctor Patton occupies, embracing science and philosophy generally in their relations to religion, and, at Glasgow, Professor Drummond holds a corresponding position in a theological seminary of one branch of the Presbyterian Church.

In 1860 Doctor Woodrow was elected the first occupant of the new chair. His task is not to teach science or theology, or to attempt the tracing of harmonies between these. Harmony he cannot expect to find where the subject-matter is so wide apart. He contents himself with showing that between the received results in these departments of truth there is no conflict, and hence no ground for apprehension.

The present controversy sprang up upon the publication in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* of an address on evolution delivered by Doctor Woodrow before the Alumni Association of Columbia Seminary, and published at the request of that body and of the Board of Directors. In this address he states his belief in "the divine inspiration of every word of the Bible, and in the consequent absolute truth, the absolute inerrancy, of every expression which it contains, from beginning to end." His belief also in the distinctive doctrines of the Presbyterian Church—the federal headship of Adam, the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity, etc.—emerge distinctly in the progress of the controversy. He maintains his belief in the confessional theology and its perfect consistency with his scientific views. Whatever the outcome of the controversy, it cannot be inferred that the "new" or "progressive" theology, so far as it diverges from the Westminster standards, has made any headway in the "ultra-orthodox" Presbyterian Church of the South.

On evolution Doctor Woodrow carefully de-

fines his views. He is not a follower of Darwin or Haeckel or Spencer. Evolution to him is not a substitute for God, but rather His plan of creation; it gives no account of origins or of forces, but is the mode of divine operation in the cosmos; it is for the most part continuous, but creative energy is exerted at the appearance of matter, of organic life, of spiritual life; it is in itself neither Christian nor anti-Christian, and should not be confounded with the religious beliefs of those who have held it.

The point of discussion is, however, not evolution in general. For life below Man this is conceded generally, and one newspaper pronounces it "harmless." The controversy begins when the doctrine is applied to Man. Doctor Woodrow holds that man's body was probably in the line of development of the animal world. The soul of man he believes was immediately created, and Eve was immediately formed from the rib of Adam; of these Scripture leaves no room for doubt. But of the mode of creation of Adam's body, whether immediately from inorganic dust or mediately through organic forms, the Scripture is not decisive. Either view, therefore, is consistent with a firm belief in the authority of God's Word, and that view is to be taken which is best sustained by extra-Scriptural evidence. The question is thus deprived of theological significance, and the Church relieved of the necessity for an *ex-cathedra* deliverance upon it. It belongs solely to science, whose methods must determine it.

This is the point at issue. Obviously it is a question of exegesis only: for if anti-Scriptural, Doctor Woodrow will be the first to abandon these views; if merely extra-Scriptural, the Church has no more interest in this than in the other open questions of science. Exegesis, therefore, is the proper resort for the solution of the question. Yet, curiously enough, most of the critics cannot see this, nor will they be thus restrained. Some make merry and "laugh heartily"; others call names, such as "fantastic," "preposterous"; others denounce as subversive of confessional theology; others attempt the scientific question, and quote from Virchow, Gray, and Dana. Only a few discuss the real question, and these generally assume the received interpretation of Gen. i-iii as correct.

On the other hand, Doctor Woodrow states that he does not look for concurrence in his scientific views, for the evidence on which these rest can be appreciated only by a specialist. He contends that they are Scripturally tenable, and beyond this the Church is not required to go. This is the position of the Board and of the supporters of Doctor Woodrow as a body. It should be added that a large and influential party in the Church earnestly oppose even the toleration of such views in the Church, and that four of the six papers send forth their solid and leaded columns against Doctor Woodrow.

It is, however, not to these but to the Board of Directors that Doctor Woodrow is responsible. This body passed last week four resolutions, a small minority opposing, the first of which tenders thanks to Doctor Woodrow for the ability and faithfulness with which he complied with their request, and the fourth records the Board's sense of the wisdom of establishing the chair. The second and third are as follows:

"2. That in the judgment of this Board the relations subsisting between the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of natural science are plainly, correctly, and satisfactorily set forth in said address.

"3. That the Board is not prepared to concur in the view expressed by Doctor Woodrow as to the probable method of the creation of Adam's body; yet in the judgment of the Board there is nothing in the doctrine of evolution, as defined and limited by him, which appears inconsistent with perfect soundness in the faith."

Here the matter stands. Doctor Woodrow's chair will not be abolished, nor will he be deposed therefrom. The only resort of his critics now is the General Assembly, to which the Board makes annual report, but which has no immediate control of the Seminary. That the question will rest here is perhaps too much to hope; the turn it will take I cannot predict.

It is an interesting fact that the number of students at Columbia is relatively large, and that some are in attendance who are attracted there by Doctor Woodrow's teachings in particular.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

W. S. P. BRYAN.

HUTTONSVILLE, W. VA., September 24, 1884.

#### STEAMSHIP CUISINE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: The letter upon "Steamship Cuisine" in your issue of the 4th has interested us. Our experience of eight voyages on four different lines has left impressions only too truly represented by your correspondent, and inclines us to think his suggestion of the restaurant plan a good one. We also have observed that there has been no proportion, unless it were an inverse one, between the cost of the passage and the character of the cooking. Last summer we left New York when its markets were crammed with delicious peaches at reasonable prices. Judge of our dismay when, at the very first dessert, the *pièce de résistance* consisted of small, green, and blighted specimens, well meriting the Englishman's curt reply, "And we should too," to the American's boast, "Why, we give our peaches to the hogs!" This voyage, on a line commanding the highest rates, was our worst experience as to the cuisine, although we never suffered less from sea-sickness.

Why are essentials, such as bread and coffee, always so poor? This summer I staid at a very modest "Temperance Hotel," awaiting two friends from the United States. The delight with which they sat down to a tea, the chief items of which were cold roast-duck, home-made bread, and raspberries and cream, would have been a lesson to any steamship chef, if only the comfort of his involuntary guests were of moment to him. That it was simple board and lodging which gave such pleasure is patent by my bill, which came to 11s. 3d. for two nights and a day.

Quality of food rather than great variety, well instead of grandly cooked; fresh-smelling bed linen; ignorance, nasal at any rate, of the location of the pantry; air below as pure as the air above—these, surely, are no unreasonable demands on the part of the passengers. Will not some of the great lines find it "pay" to provide them?

J. E. C.

YORK, ENGLAND, September 17, 1884.

#### MR. GREG ON THE FRENCH COINAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: Your criticism upon the "decision," "smartness," and "mechanical antithesis" of Mr. Greg might have reached a more radical fault if the sentence which you quote in regard to the French coinage is a specimen of his accuracy. It was on the 18th of May, 1804, that, in pursuance of a popular vote, Napoleon assumed the imperial title. It was not until some months later that the Republic was formally superseded by the Empire. One will therefore not infrequently find in circulation a coin bearing what Mr. Greg deems the contradictory legends: "République Française" and "Napoléon Empereur." But not one such can be found without the dates of 1804 or 1805.

T. B.

ROCHESTER, September 23, 1884.

## Notes.

MR. RIDER announces, in his last *Book Notes*, the sale to the Providence Public Library of the late Mr. C. Fiske Harris's "collection of books, pamphlets, and other material relating to slaves, slavery throughout the world, and to our late Rebellion." It contains more than 7,000 distinct titles, and is rich in European works on the above topics. The unrivalled collection of American poetry purchased from Mr. Harris by the late Senator Anthony will pass by bequest to the library of Brown University. It is noteworthy that the fund for the purchase of the Rebellion collection was originally raised to supply reading matter for a soldiers' hospital, which was abandoned so soon that the money could not be expended. Its present application must meet with universal approval. We hope an index of the slavery portion can be undertaken ere long, perhaps in connection with Cornell, the Boston Athenæum and Public Library, and the libraries of Howard University and of Oberlin—probably the five chief depositories of that branch of literature.

Cassell & Co. will publish a new and enlarged edition of Sir James Caird's 'India, the Land and the People;' and 'The Electrician's Pocket-Book,' by Gordon Wigan.

'The Mentor,' a handbook of good manners, by Alfred Ayres, and 'A Narragansett Christmas,' by Edward Everett Hale, are in the press of Funk & Wagnalls.

Mr. Froude has finished his 'Life of Carlyle,' and is stated to be now engaged—apparently reserving his most difficult task for the last—upon a preface to the third volume, in which he will attempt to explain and vindicate his conduct as literary executor to Mr. Carlyle.

A new volume of songs by Mr. Swinburne will shortly be published by Chatto & Windus, under the title 'A Midsummer Holiday.'

The centenary of Doctor Johnson's death will occur on December 13 of the present year. No celebration, however, has yet been determined upon at Lichfield, although it seems hardly likely that nothing will be done to honor the memory of the great lexicographer. The only memorial of which we have heard is a little volume by Doctor Macaulay, the editor of the *Leisure Hour*, called 'Doctor Johnson: His Life, Works, and Table-Talk,' and to be published by T. Fisher Unwin in his centenary series.

The Christian names of the late Mr. MacGahan seem to be imperfectly known to many of his biographers. The *Tribune* of this city spoke of him as "John A.," the London *Daily News*, which certainly ought to know, as it was in the service of that paper that he reached the high-water mark of his reputation, calls him "James A.," and another English newspaper states authoritatively that his name was nothing less than "Januarius Aloysius." His tombstone should settle the question.

In type, paper, and binding, little fault can be found with the "Haworth Edition" of 'Jane Eyre,' published in a limited edition by Robert M. Lindsay, Philadelphia. The work makes two volumes, large octavo; the print is beautifully clear and even, and the subjects selected for illustration are, besides the author's portrait, the principal places of interest described in the story or associated with the life of the author. In this last respect the publisher has shown excellent taste. Artistically, the etchings for the title-pages are real embellishments. The portrait (after Richmond) cannot be called so; and of the six other etchings, only one or two are praiseworthy performances with the needle. Mr. Stephen Parrish's Lowood is distinctly the best of these. The one jarring note in this general har-

mony of good intentions and material execution is the series of initial letters for the various chapters. They are beneath notice as design, and have the cheap appearance of most "process" copying of pen-and-ink work. Either woodcuts or etchings were called for here.

Mrs. Craik's 'Poems' have been brought out by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. in a volume with gilt edges and red-line borders to the pages, but with rather indifferent presswork.

A thoroughly pretty volume is the first of the *English Illustrated Magazine* (Macmillan). Its illustrations have a noticeably decorative quality, and can be judged by a severe standard, being well chosen as well as generally well executed. The letter-press is from the pen of Austin Dobson, Grant Allen, A. Lang, Professor Huxley, J. H. Shorthouse, Hugh Conway, H. Sutherland Edwards, Swinburne, Henry James, Mrs. Craik, Miss Yonge, Archibald Geikie, William Black, and by lesser lights in the world of letters and of science.

Dr. Harrison Allen has reprinted from the Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia an essay on a 'New Method of Recording the Motions of the Soft Palate' (P. Blackiston, Son & Co.). His apparatus, the palatemyograph, is ingenious and practicable, and his observations are interesting, especially to physiologists and physicians, in tracing variations of the palatal motions in health and disease. The apparatus, as hinted at, may become available for the comparative study of language, for the instruction of the deaf, and for the formation of a scientific shorthand.

Dr. J. M. Carnochan has reprinted (through J. H. Vail & Co.) a paper upon 'Cerebral Localization in Relation to Insanity,' read before the Medico-Legal Society in May last. The doctrine not only that the brain is the organ of the mind, but that special mental functions are carried on through special parts of the brain substance, is advocated and is supported by three cases of his own and one quoted, where the autopsy confirmed the diagnosis made in life as to the exact locality of the cerebral disturbance. The essay is beautifully printed, except that in the first twenty pages the running review of mental philosophy is marred by various typographical errors in names and dates.

In the preface to the tenth volume of Mr. Gardiner's revised edition of his History, the author expresses his gratification at being now free "to take up the interrupted thread" of the history of the Civil War, in which he had gone as far as the preparations for the siege of Reading in April, 1643. Historical students, however much they have been benefited by this revision, will certainly rejoice at the prospect of new volumes from his pen. The present one contains six chapters, being the equivalent of four chapters of the earlier edition; it contains, also, the instructive Parliamentary Map of England given in the earlier edition. More than one hundred and fifty pages are occupied by an index to the whole work—an index which is a real guide to the contents of the book, and in making which Mr. Gardiner refused all assistance. "No one but the author of a book," he says, "can hope to achieve in this department even the negative success of not exasperating those who wish to study his work seriously." The preface contains a very suggestive discussion of the relation of the historian to the statesman, and the aid which he can give in the solution of current problems. This aid is, he thinks, mainly indirect, in arousing "a statesmanlike temper in the happily increasing mass of educated persons without whose support the statesman is powerless"; directly, he can hardly do more than assist in the understanding of existing facts by showing their causes, or "by clearing away false analogies supposed to



be found in the past." The volume ends with the setting up of the King's standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642.

In these days of plagiarisms unveiled and famous works of literature traced to their original sources, there is a certain pleasure in learning that Reuchlin's "Henno" is certainly not an imitation of "Maitre Pathelin," as M. Parmentier has shown in the *Bulletin Mensuel* of the Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. It differs, he avers, in the conception of the subject, the composition, and the dialogue.

"European Interests in Asia" and "Pierce's Administration" are the topics of *Monthly Reference Lists* for September (New York: 31 Park Row).

Librarydom is spreading northward. A public library has been founded at Toronto, with a good endowment. A movement for one has been begun at Montreal, under the leadership of an active man, and with the endorsement of the leading literary and scientific names. Indeed, the promoters have secured letters from persons in the United States who were likely from their connection with libraries or from their fame (as Oliver Wendell Holmes and Lieutenant Greely) to influence the public, and have covered the whole side of a newspaper with them. Halifax has gone further than either of these cities. It has published its catalogue, presumably compiled by its librarian, Mr. J. Reed Welch. As the preface explains that A before a shelf mark adds 10,000 to that number, and we find the mark A8662, and the method of marking is evidently the primitive one of calling the first book received 1, the second 2, and so on, it follows that the collection is already approaching 20,000—a very good beginning. They fill a catalogue of 429 pages of a simple but serviceable kind, in which entries are made of authors and also under leading words of the title. This also somewhat primitive method is accompanied by the exasperating overabundance of initial capitals which is usual in English booksellers' and library catalogues.

The question of copyright deposit is again exciting attention in France. M. Raunié proposes that both the printer and the publisher shall deposit separately two copies apiece, the publisher's two copies to go to be the spoil of the Bibliothèque Nationale and some other public library, the two copies of the printer to go to provincial libraries, to their great gain, especially in building up collections of local history.

About the middle of the last century the Count Giannaria Mazzuchelli projected a great biographical work upon the writers of Italy. His plan was to give a series of biographical treatises on the principal authors. To this end he published separately several biographies, which were finally embodied in six folio volumes, covering, however, only the letters A, B. He died in 1765, leaving a large number of manuscripts for the continuation of the work. They have until lately remained untouched in the Alexandrian and Vatican Libraries. In 1867 Enrico Narducci, the Librarian of the Alexandrian Library, published a list of the manuscripts in the Vatican in connection with some notes on Mazzuchelli. Since then he has brought out some additional matter from the manuscripts in the Alexandrian Library, and the whole is now published under the title 'Giunte all' opera *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* del Conte G. Mazzuchelli.'

Probably the most gigantic biographical compilation ever undertaken by a single author is Dr. Constant von Wurzbach's 'Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich.' Of this the fiftieth volume has just appeared (Vienna, 1884), bringing the work down to the first part of the letter W, and embracing, as usual, more or less famous representatives of all the nationalities and spheres of activity of the motley Austro-

Hungarian monarchy. A few more volumes will complete the Lexicon, and the marvellously active compiler, who began its publication in 1855, and has thus issued yearly, on an average, nearly two volumes, of generally more than 300 8vo pages each—compiling, writing, and revising them himself—seems to have every chance of finishing his monumental work before reaching the age of three-score and ten, having been born in April, 1818. He is a native of Carniola, and owes his equestrian rank, with the title of Edler von Tannenbergr, to his services in the Austrian army, Ministry of the Interior, and Ministry of State, and to his merits as a writer in prose and verse. Many of his poems, epic and lyrical, appeared under the nom de guerre of W. Constant. He retired from the state service with a pension in 1874, taking up his abode in the little Bavarian town of Berchtesgaden.

'Louis XIV. et Strasbourg: Essai sur la Politique de la France en Alsace,' is the title of a volume of 800 pages by M. A. Legrelle, recently published, and intended to prove that the occupation of that Rhenish city in 1681 by the "grand monarque," though executed by a kind of stealthy *coup de main*, was far from being a deed of unjustifiable violence and foul treachery, such as German historians, before and after the reconquest of 1870, have always represented it to have been. The work presents the French view of the matter with a much greater display of documentary evidence, drawn in great part from hitherto inedited French archives, than of Gallic passion and partiality, and even German criticism broadly acknowledges its merits as a scholarly historical production. M. Legrelle, however, not only exculpates the action of Louis XIV. from the charge of unscrupulous meanness, but endeavors to show it to have been the assertion of legitimate international claims by a "grand acte de vigueur." Of the correctness of this opinion the author will find it hard to convince the Germans, who even in 1870, as Ranke then told M. Thiers, still believed themselves to be justly fighting against—Louis XIV.

—The University of Michigan is to be congratulated on the prospect of coming into possession of the important gallery of paintings, marbles, and bronzes collected by the late Henry C. Lewis, of Coldwater, in that State. This destination of the gallery is in accordance with the provisions of Mr. Lewis's will made public within the past week. An inspection of the Catalogue shows that the collection consists of 723 articles, of which 18 are marbles, 47 bronzes, 97 portraits, 135 copies of celebrated pictures, and 436 original paintings by modern artists. The copies were made, for the most part, by Malini, Galli, Gavioli, Manzuoli, and Metzger. Of much greater interest are the historical portraits, nearly all of which are of persons who have been prominent in American political affairs. Among the modern artists represented by important works in the collection are Gérôme, Schreyer, Bouguereau, Van Marcke, Verboeckhoven, Coomans, De Haas, Constant, and Richter. There are very few paintings by English artists and not many by Americans. For nearly twenty years, Mr. Lewis was an enthusiastic collector, and during the latter portion of his life particularly he seems to have bought with good judgment and discrimination. The pictures by Bouguereau, Schreyer, Van Marcke, Constant, and Verboeckhoven are among the most notable works of these artists.

—The October *Century* opens with an *avant-courrier* of its series of battle-articles, in the shape of a sketch of the general minor aspects of the war throughout its whole field, under the title "Lights and Shadows of Army Life." It is a paper of anecdote, for the most part, and gives fresh illustration of the truism that no *mot* is

original. The Confederate officer, for example, who at Malvern Hill called out to his wavering command, "Come on! do you want to live forever!" repeated the oath and the word of the great Frederick, as we have come to name him, at Kunersdorf: "Wollt ihr ewig leben!" Mr. Eugene V. Smalley's paper, "The Cour d'Alène Stampede," is also a lure for the next year's subscription, being the first of the promised group descriptive of the Northwest, and an admirable narrative besides, though it exhibits the discomfort better than the picturesqueness of that unclaimed wilderness. It gives one a feeling of escape when he gets out of it, and makes him appreciate the mingled awe of nature and rudeness of life in these mountains rather than their charm. Probably no part of our country is less known to the people than this quarter, where discoveries of whole tracts of beauty and fertility are still made. Mr. Eggleston's antiquarian papers on colonial life are as uneven in their interest as they are irregular in their appearance. In the present instalment, on the tenure of land, inheritance, and the trade in white bondmen and slaves, there is a lack of freshness quite unavoidable; but the illustrations of colonial houses and interiors are of great interest, though nothing is said about them in the text. A valuable volume might be made, especially if illustrated, on our colonial architecture and its sources. In the way of literature, which in all the magazines is a steadily-decreasing element save in the one field of fiction, Mr. Brander Matthews has an elaborate critique on Austin Dobson, which tells us too little about Dobson and too much about what its author knows of the contemporary French influence in England. And perhaps, after all, Mr. Dobson is an honest English poet, whose grace is as English as his thought, and whose charm fails only when as it must be confessed he does he takes the French stutter.

—Some interesting statistics of the comparative circulation of French and English newspapers have just been published. *Lloyd's Weekly News*, a popular and ultra-radical London journal, heads the list with 612,902 copies. Then comes the *Petit Journal*, with 600,000. *Reynolds's Weekly News*, similar to *Lloyd's*, issues 350,000, and the *Weekly Dispatch*, an excellent London workman's paper of very advanced views, formerly owned and edited by the late Ashton Dilke, 220,000. Of the great London dailies first comes the *Daily Telegraph*, with 250,000 copies, then the *Standard*, with 242,000, the *Daily News*, with 160,000, the *Daily Chronicle*, with 120,000, and lastly the *Times*, with 100,000, which is rather over than under the mark, its circulation having fallen off very much under the competition of its cheaper rivals. It has of course the advantage of selling for three pence against their penny, but a reduction in price has been hinted at more than once. The Parisian dailies, with the exception of the *Petit Journal*, begin where the London ones leave off, the *Radical Lanterne* and the *Soleil*, the organ of the Orleanist Princes, leading with 100,000 each. The *Temps*, the most influential and most read of large French papers, circulates only 35,000 copies; and the *Journal des Débats*, the official organ of the Left Centre, 12,000, and the *République Française*, the official organ of the Ferry Cabinet, only 8,000, although the *Petite République Française*, its cheaper evening edition, reaches 50,000. Rochefort's paper, *L'Intransigeant*, has a circulation of 25,000, and the same number is attributed to the ultra-socialistic *Bataille*. The violent communistic organ, *Cri du Peuple*, sells 20,000 copies, and the new American poly-political venture, *Le Matin* (in which a Bonapartist, a Republican, and a Radical write the leaders on different days), is described as having an increasing circulation of

30,000. Among English provincial papers, the Birmingham Post, Leeds Mercury, Manchester Examiner, Newcastle Chronicle, Liverpool Post, Glasgow Herald, and Scotsman, the great Liberal organs in the provinces, stand at about the same figure, from 50,000 to 60,000. The other papers of largest circulation in England are devoted respectively to sensational crime, short sensational stories, and "sport," viz., the Police News, 300,000, the Family Herald, 200,000, and the Referee, 120,000. Punch has a smaller circulation than would be supposed from its omnipresence in England, only 25,000.

—Within the last century the rate of suicide in England seems to have quintupled, with an increasing number of juvenile cases (under sixteen); and no fewer than 43,346 patients have been added, in a period of twenty years, to the number of registered lunatics. These facts are mentioned in an interesting report by Dr. Crichton-Browne on over-pressure in elementary schools, containing the results of investigations made in fourteen London schools since February. The evils complained of are that children are often detained beyond school hours; that they have too much work to do at home, especially before an impending examination; and that no allowance is made for differences in mental endowments and health. In some cases as many as 50 per cent. of the children are kept after hours in order to be brought up to the examination level; and as for home work, it "is had in the case of young children, and even where that work is moderate in amount, it is often sufficient to stir up and irritate an exhausted and feeble brain, and so to interfere with sleep." The doctor thinks backward children can be divided into three sets, the dull, the starved, and the delicate. In one school containing 448 boys, 9 only were to be withheld from examination, whereas the doctor easily pointed out 35 in regard to whom the teacher readily agreed that were it not for fear of the inspectors they would be classed as quite unfit for hard mental labor; and in a girls' school there were 46 such cases among 341 pupils. A medical report is recommended as of use in such cases, and better still a log-book containing a register of the height, weight, head and chest girth of the children.

"No one can walk through a few schools in different districts of London, and with different rates of payment, without being impressed by the wide interval in health and development that separates children in the best from those in the worst. The latter are puny, dwarfish, pale, and feeble, when compared with the former; and to judge a teacher who is laboring among them by the same standard that is applied to another whose lot is cast among larger-limbed and larger-headed children, with richer blood and more constitutional vigor, is to do him a manifest injustice, and incite to over-pressure."

—Starvation is pronounced a larger question even than dulness. Bread and weak tea form the only nourishment of many of these children, and one boy was found studying geography who had had no breakfast, and whose dinner consisted of two rotten oranges. Others neglect their breakfast in their eagerness to get to school in time to secure the red mark. Some of the results of these evils are very striking. "It is now certain that more than one-third of the children attending elementary schools in London suffer from habitual headache. I have examined 6,580 children in elementary schools in London on the subject of headaches, and have found that 3,034 or 46.1 per cent. profess to suffer from them habitually. Great pains were taken to secure accurate returns." In one school containing 381 boys, 129 were sleep-talkers and 28 sleep-walkers, this being a school in which home lessons were insisted upon. In a school of 432 girls there were 17 somnambulists, and in another of 382 there were 20. Tabulated statistics show, furthermore, that

53.4 per cent. of the boys and 55 per cent. of the girls suffer from neuralgia and toothache; and short-sightedness increases so rapidly that it threatens to become a national infirmity, as in Germany. A remarkable contrast to this state of affairs is offered in the schools of Scotland. "Only 23 children (9 boys and 14 girls) out of 335 complained of headaches, which gives a percentage of 6.5 against 46.1 for London. One child, a nervous girl, out of the 335, complained of sleeplessness, and there was just one instance of short-sightedness, while not a somnambulist was to be found; the reason being that 'they are well fed on porridge and milk as the staple articles of diet, with broth, potatoes, butter, tea, and occasionally a bit of meat or bacon. They are warmly clad, and wear stout clogs in winter and go barefooted in summer. They are much in the open and uncontaminated air.'"

—The *Revue Politique et Littéraire* of September 6 has a characteristic bit of French criticism on American literature in a notice of M. Émile Blémont's translation of Poe's "Poetic Principle," which is to be prefixed to that gentleman's forthcoming version of Poe's poems, and was recently printed in *Le Monde Poétique*. The critic, who first notes prominently Poe's opinion that a poem must be brief in order to deserve the name, puts this down as purely American, and ascribes it to our national restlessness, economy of time, and greed of money, in making which we use all our hours except a very few in the evening, when the shops are shut up. Poe thought the "Iliad," the "Æneid," and "Paradise Lost" not poems, properly speaking, because they could not be read at an hour's sitting. Taking the opinion of Poe for that of Wall Street, our critic says: "It is useless to object that these poems have been popular for many centuries. 'That may be,' is the reply; 'with us and henceforth they won't be.' In other words: 'There was time then to attend to strong emotions; but now time fails. Hip! hip! we must go fast; we want only *les grands rapides*, even in literature.' Et voilà," adds the critic, "steam has killed the epic!" "*Bien américain, n'est-ce pas?*" is his smiling sneer; and "French of the French" is the only answer to make. Who that knows our poetry does not know that Coleridge, far from the banks of the Susquehanna that he only dreamed of visiting, enunciated this critical dictum as to the necessary brevity of pure poetry, and that Poe "conveyed" it from him more than fifty years ago, before all criticism of America became an echo of the steam-whistle? *Bien américain*, and behold, it came out of the heart of that most contemplative region of our literature, the Lake Country! The Frenchman goes on, in his harmless prattle: "If there is a country where the cult of utility flourishes, it is the New World. At Boston, where Edgar Poe was born, more than elsewhere, utilitarianism is made manifest in the theory, generally admitted and proclaimed, that a poem, whatever its kind, ought first of all to have a moral." This belief in the Boston of the Transcendentalists as a still living fact convinces us that we have a past after all; but how is it that the French critic could, in his first column, dwell so realistically on the speed of our progress, and in his second assume that fifty years of Boston were of no more consequence than the Tennysonian cycle of Cathay? That he derives his impression of the present state of letters and criticism in America from Poe's long-since antiquated remarks on the subject is, however, only a striking instance of the density of the ignorance regarding foreigners which, although somewhat rifted by the war with Germany, still envelops most educated Frenchmen.

—M. Ulbach, continuing his letters from Lisbon, praises the marvellous monastery of Belem,

where no arch, no pillar, no frieze resembles any other arch, pillar, or frieze. It is now an orphanage, and M. Ulbach is surprised that twelve or fifteen hundred boys play in these Moorish cloisters without defacing any of the carvings or writing their names upon the walls. Not so would the *gamins* of Paris treat the most beautiful building of France, if given them for a residence. Not so, M. Ulbach remembers, did he respect the walls of Parisian churches when he was at the name-carving age. Such boys will make good citizens, and M. Ulbach is never weary of giving instances of the mild character and good deportment of the Lisbonese. They do not even applaud in the theatres till the King has given the signal—a privilege of royalty which at once becomes a duty, and must in the end be a burden, like the hand-shaking of an American President. At Belem are the relics of Camoens. They are said by some sceptics to be the remains of another man, a Lisbon shoemaker; but what matter? Were there not three well-authenticated corpses of St. Denis? and did not the royal abbey possess two of them, for the greater security? This multiplication of a saint or other famous man, after death, may be taken as one of the signs of greatness. Not far from Belem another sort of relics is preserved, better authenticated—the royal coaches from the earliest times. It is a custom in Europe; there is a similar collection at Madrid, at Versailles, at Windsor, if we recollect aright. Crown jewels and crown vehicles have an equal honor. In Lisbon they are a testimony to the national mildness; no revolutions have disturbed them in the least, nor have either the revolutions or the more dangerous progress of the age changed the national fashion of love-making. The lover still takes his station under his mistress's balcony; still urges his suit, or pours forth nothings, with upturned face; the parents discreetly turn a deaf ear; the neighbors perhaps listen a little, as they can easily do; then, when the lady at last consents, the lover knocks at the door, and the negotiation with the parents, which precedes in France, follows, as it does in England and Germany.

—In the *Deutsche Rundschau* for September will be found an article by Julian Schmidt on Auerbach (apropos of the recent publication of the latter's letters), which seems to us as good as anything we have ever read from the pen of the distinguished critic. If Schmidt has neither grace nor wit, he has great insight, and he wields the heavy and awkward tongue in which he is obliged to write with honesty and force, while he is not deterred from speaking his mind by the *convenances*, political and other, which forced Sainte-Beuve to be so circumspect in the choice of subjects, or to walk so gingerly over ground which was in the least hazardous. Both Auerbach, says Schmidt, and his contemporary Gutzkow, were pupils or descendants, as the French say, of Richter, "who was not a great poet, though a significant literary phenomenon, . . . but whom no one reads now, because the world he represents has already become so unfamiliar to us that we do not find it worth while to struggle with the difficulties of his unkempt style." Truly, a fearless, not to say iconoclastic opinion to utter respecting one of the traditional giants of literary history. In his lifetime, Auerbach was not pleased by the alleged resemblance to Jean Paul, and protests against it in his letters; but Schmidt maintains that his early judgment was sound. Auerbach had two "manners," that of the village stories and 'Waldfried,' and that of 'Auf der Höhe' and the 'Landhaus am Rhein'; and it is refreshing to find a German saying of the latter that their world, with its absurd sentimentality, its operatic duchesses and milkmaids, and its unhealthy, dream-world morality, is as un-



real, as fantastic, as untrue to the life of any beings who breathe fresh air as anything in 'Hesperus' or 'Titan': indeed, adds Schmidt, they are less so, because in Richter's time people who lived this sort of nightmare existence really existed, and were not altogether an anachronism. Save under exceptional circumstances, of course, a foreigner's opinion of the accuracy with which a novelist describes the social conditions of his country has no value; but no American, we think, could read the works of Auerbach we have named without feeling instinctively their unreality. But, so far as we know, Mr. Schmidt is the first German to say this; nor did he express this view (out of regard, doubtless, to the reticence which he says is due the living) until Auerbach's sensitive ear was beyond the reach of his criticism. For to say that the latter resembled Richter, and to point out *how* he was like him, are very different things. But if all this is true of Auerbach, is it not equally so of his contemporary Gustav Freitag? The latter's world, in his much praised and widely read 'Verlorene Handschrift,' is substantially the same as Auerbach's, and its morality is fully as maudlin. But Freitag is living, and, for his other works, deservedly honored.

—We fancy Auerbach's tales will be read for their poetic beauty and intrinsic, if idealized, truth, long after his artificial novels are forgotten; but his letters have little interest except for those who had relations with the writer or his friends. Auerbach was excessively sympathetic, and, it was said, correspondingly vain. But, as in the case of Andersen, it was perfectly innocent vanity, and, as Mr. Schmidt thinks, his literary success was largely due to it, though it involved much personal suffering.

"Vanity is not a common failing with Germans: we both observe it and despise it. But in truth it would be for our advantage if we were less unlike the French in this respect, for we should then take more pains to make ourselves agreeable. Vanity is social: the want of self-confidence implied in it, and the effort to please, prevent offensive reserve. And with an author vanity is very natural."

It was not because Auerbach was more vain than his neighbors, but simply because he lacked their self-command, or natural reserve, that he made himself ridiculous. His vanity, so to say, was corporative as well as individual, and his last years were greatly embittered by the temporary ostracism of his race, which was doubly hard for him to bear, first because he was a Jew himself, and still more because he was a patriotic German, and believed, as well, in Humanity. Faith in Justice, remarks Schmidt, is a better support in adversity.

—The *Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie* has just completed its fifth year (1883). It is issued by the Society for Teutonic Philology in Berlin, and contains a complete bibliography of works in all departments of Teutonic philology, distributed into sections embracing lexicography, grammar, dialectology, the history of literature and of culture, antiquities, mythology, pedagogy, and works and essays relating to each one of the Teutonic languages in their early and middle periods. A characteristic feature of this bibliographical work is that, in addition to the mere title, usually a brief summary of the nature of the work is given, with references to reviews of it, and sometimes a short statement of the opinions of the reviewer. It will thus be seen that it is something more than a well-classified list of books, as it gives the reader some information about the books and essays noted, and it will be found very helpful to all students of Teutonic philology. The department of English is treated by Dr. John Koch, known to the literary world

as a Chaucer scholar, and in the present volume embraces 321 titles out of a total of 1,826, covering all branches of English philology and literature, such as history and antiquities, records, lexicography, phraseology, etymology, dialects, history of the language and of the literature, grammar, pronunciation, metre, chrestomathies, and special works and essays on works belonging to the Old and Middle English periods. Other Teutonic languages are treated with singular fulness, and even mediæval Latin is included. The pedagogical section is divided into a German and an English subdivision, the latter of which is also edited by Doctor Koch, and well serves to show the extent to which English has found its way into German schools. No less than five school histories of English literature are enumerated, a silent testimony to the influence which English literature is exerting upon German children. The work deserves a wide circulation among scholars.

—The story of a Jew doomed by Christ, for an insult offered him before the crucifixion, to live till the day of judgment, is first told by the St. Albans chronicler, Roger of Wendover, under the year 1228. He obtained it from an archbishop of "Great Armenia," who in that year visited England, and had himself, before his departure from his country, dined and talked with the undying Jew. That unfortunate man, who called himself Cartaphilus, was, however, not a world-wanderer. The first real Wandering Jew was Ahasuerus, who appeared in Hamburg in 1542 or 1547, and had long conversations with Doctor Paulus von Eizen, subsequently Bishop of Schleswig. This prelate, so it is stated, communicated all the particulars to the author of a relation or letter on the subject, which appeared in "Leyden bey Christoff Creutzer," in 1602. This pamphlet is dated June 9, 1564, but contains a mention of the appearance of the Wandering Jew in 1569, and another similar anachronism. Besides the Leyden edition, which may thus have been a reprint with additions, there are at least five early editions marked "Bautzen bey Wolfgang Schuchnach," and many others. The relation is in some reprints attributed to Chrysostomus Duduleus Westphalus. All these names connected with the publication are considered spurious. But the story of Ahasuerus, as told in the narrative of 1564, has become, through numerous reproductions, the traditional basis of the many poetical productions of later times whose theme is the sad fate of the undying wanderer. One of the best critical writers on the subject, Gaston Paris, in his 'Le Juif-Errant' (Paris, 1880), expressed the desirability of "a work of bibliographical criticism on the relations to each other of the various books sprung from the famous letter of 1564, on the oldest editions of that letter," etc. What the Frenchman wished for has been carried out by a German through a vast amount of search in libraries and correspondence with librarians. The title of the new monograph, which is not exclusively though mainly bibliographical, is: 'Die Sage vom ewigen Juden. Untersucht von Dr. L. Neubaur' (Leipzig, 1884). The fulness and minuteness of the elaboration are such that one is tempted to ask the author: Was not the Westphalian "Chrysostom" right when he said that, after all, it is "Kein Artickel des christlichen Glaubens was von Ahasuero vermeldet wird"?

—On the 10th of September, at the ripe age of eighty-four, died the most accomplished and fruitful botanist of our day, George Bentham. We may not say the most renowned, for renown attends only certain kinds of scientific accomplishment and fruitfulness. When Humboldt, on a visit to England, told the Prime Minister how strange it seemed that Robert Brown should have

no national recognition, he found that this name was unheard of beyond purely scientific circles. That of Bentham is not quite in the same case, for in England the 'Handbook of the British Flora' is a widely popular book. Yet, except to the devotees of the science, it may hardly be understood that in his death systematic botany loses its most eminent, most productive, and, with one exception, most venerable cultivator. The productive period of his life spans more than half of the century, beginning as it did in the year 1825, and closing with the completion of the 'Genera Plantarum' a year ago.

#### GENERAL BUELL.

*Operations of the Army under Buell, from June 10 to October 30, 1862, and the "Buell Commission."* By James B. Fry, retired, Assistant Adjutant-General with rank of Colonel, Brevet Major-General, U. S. A.; Chief of Staff to General Buell, November 15, 1861, to October 30, 1862. D. Van Nostrand. 1884. 12mo, pp. 201.

No problem connected with the details of army history during the Civil War has been more difficult of satisfactory solution than the Buell question. What was his character as an officer and his ability as a commander? Did he accomplish all the War Department had a right to expect from him? Was he loyal, earnestly and sincerely loyal, to the national cause? What were the influences that procured his removal from command? How far were they military and how far political? Was he right in declining subsequent service in subordinate positions, at least until the action of the "Commission" which sat upon his conduct should be passed upon by the Government? Was that Commission an act of persecution or a legitimate mode of military inquiry into his official career?

During the war, the general disposition to solve all doubts in favor of the Administration, and the strong tendency in every patriotic mind to favor whatever looked like vigor, and the quick discarding of men and measures that seemed slow or unsuccessful, combined to produce a popular judgment against Buell. He had had splendid opportunities, but had reaped small results. Bragg had turned his positions near Chattanooga and marched to the Ohio River. The battle of Perryville had been indecisive, and the retreating enemy had not been energetically pushed. He was coldly disposed to the national cause, and wished for compromise with the rebellion. He was so hostile to emancipation that he would not receive information from "contrabands." These were the things his critics and his detractors industriously circulated, and the time was one in which detraction was easily believed of any one who was not dazzling the public eye with either the reality or the plausible pretence of brilliant success. The current of opinion, for the time, was against him, and he was easily pushed aside from responsible command. It was not denied that he had more than ordinary ability. He was believed to be a soldier who had mastered the ordinary learning of his profession, and who had intellect to comprehend the problems of the war; but it was assumed that he lacked the executive power which makes a great army mobile and strong, an efficient engine in a competent hand. The prevalent doubt of his enthusiasm in the cause made also a vague but real questioning of his desire to do all with his army that might be done.

The disposition to suspect the motives of generals when their commands seem to be inactive or unsuccessful is a very common thing in all national wars. Ours was no exception to the rule. To put it concretely, we doubt if, during the first two years of the war, there was any general

officer in command of an independent column of whom it was not reported and published at one time or another in the newspapers, that he was the brother-in-law of the rebel officer opposed to him. The frequency of the thing became ludicrous, but it is a type of the feverish imaginings of such a time of convulsion. It was part of his surroundings with which every soldier of prominence had to deal. Discontented and envious subordinates would exploit them to the last degree against their commanders. Unscrupulous politicians would use them to pull down or set up whom they chose. Under such circumstances, Grant held his tongue and bided his time, never failing, however, to keep hammering away at the thing next his hand with imperturbable obstinacy. Sherman rather welcomed a temporary service in subordinate places, where he was saved from the chafing contact with unreasonable expectations, and could wait for the sifting of men and the education of the public which time was pretty sure to bring. Buell proudly refused to bend to any storm, and his career is only the mutilated trunk of what might have been, as his friends believe, one of the finest examples of evergreen military renown.

General Fry's position as Buell's chief of staff makes him a very fit historian of the army under Buell, and we could wish that he had undertaken the task of writing a detailed narrative of the whole period of Buell's command. He has strictly limited himself, however, to the period which the Commission undertook to examine, and to a criticism of their action and their report. What he originally intended for a magazine article expanded into a small volume, though it still retains the cast which was chosen for the briefer form of a criticism. This makes it in some respects less satisfactory than it might be, though it accomplishes in the main the author's purpose. He maintains, first, that Buell accomplished all that could in reason be expected of him with the force he had, and that the responsibility for the insufficiency of this force was wholly with the Department at Washington. Next, that the delay in occupying Chattanooga in the summer of 1862 was caused by the imperative orders of Halleck to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad before advancing, when the Nashville and Chattanooga Road was the one upon which he must rely for his supplies and communications. Third, that the separation of Kentucky from Buell's command took away from him the protection of his own line to Louisville, which was his base, and led to the most embarrassing complications of the campaign. Lastly, that after Perryville the campaign was a substantial success, and Buell's delay to march into East Tennessee was more than justified by the events after he was relieved by Rosecrans. These propositions General Fry seems to us fairly to maintain. He does not prove that the campaign was an ideal one, or evidence of military genius of the highest order; but that it was such progress as might reasonably have been satisfactory to the Government—nay, that it *was* satisfactory to the Government till the implacable hostility of Governor Morton, of Indiana, coerced the Administration into relieving him. This step involved the other, of seeming, at least, to condemn the management of the campaign.

The "War Governors" were among our "institutions" in the turbulent period. The emptiness of the national treasury when the war began, and the crippled condition of the executive when Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated, made the earnest support of the loyal State governments of inestimable price. It was their pledge of State credit which gave the means of equipping and supplying the first troops which assembled for the defence of Washington. Several of them sent their men ready clothed and armed as well, and

formed camps of reserves at the State expense, anticipating the call for more volunteers. During the first three months all the officers of volunteers, including generals, were appointed by the States, and as the regimental officers continued to be so appointed, it was not strange that the line of distinction between State and national authority was, in the Governors' minds, ill-defined. Their interest in the welfare of the troops they had organized and sent to the field easily ran into an exercise of assumed power to command, or a right to be consulted as to all commands given. They were welcomed when they sent hospital steamboats to bring home the wounded after a Shiloh: why should they not have a word to say in regard to the general organization of the medical service? It is easy to see how the tendency of all this, especially at first, was toward what would seem to a rigid disciplinarian officious intermeddling, and a multiplication of masters, whom, according to the Scripture, no man could serve. A broader view will recognize the fact that the zeal which broke out of ordinary bounds was, in the extraordinary circumstances, a condition of success. States which would take no initiative, and Governors who would venture upon no irregular thing, never would have put down the rebellion. The Government at Washington, left to its own resources as the laws stood in 1861, could not have organized, uniformed, equipped, or fed an army. To keep exactly in one's place, to do all that is necessary for a great cause, and to stop exactly upon the line of army regulations; to spend one's energy and the power of States like Ohio and Indiana to put an army in the field, and then to avoid interference with its conduct, would be the part of a philosophic sage, but not of human nature generally, certainly not of the nature of War Governors. From Maine to Iowa it was the same, in varying degrees, and should have been taken into the account as part of the unavoidable circumstances of such a great convulsion.

Buell did not sufficiently recognize this necessity, and he made powerful enemies where a little diplomacy might have given him powerful friends. His reading of military history should have taught him that the dealing with allied powers has often been the most embarrassing part of a general's task; and this was a good deal like having to deal with allied powers. Marlborough in the Low Countries had much more trouble in keeping his allies working together and in preventing local authorities from "making a mess of it" than he had in his campaigns when his army moved. So had Wellington in the Peninsula. Embarrassments of this sort were not peculiar to our war. Indeed, with us there was this inestimable compensation, that the meddling was the result of unbounded zeal for the common cause. Patience, tact, industrious correspondence, and diplomacy were all called for in the general who commanded south of the Ohio River in 1862, and, in the retrospect, we think the warmest friends of Buell must see that he limited himself too strictly to the military idea of his rights and his duties, and did not make proper use of some of the qualities which, in military education, should always be insisted upon as indispensable to a general in responsible command. His early collisions with Tod and Yates, the Governors of Ohio and Illinois, made them more ready to follow Morton when the latter determined to force Buell's removal from command.

It has grown into an historical maxim that zeal for a great cause in leading actors in great events soon becomes modified by desire for power. Personal ambitions become inextricably mixed with public devotion, and to impress one's own will upon the course of things very easily becomes synonymous with success of the cause.

Morton's zeal and energy were unbounded. His growing ambition was hardly less so. He was never charged with pecuniary corruption, but he had other traits of character which made him willing to surround himself by vulgar men of a gross, self-seeking sort. To put these in important places, civil and military, was part of his method of accomplishing his ends. It was equally part of his method to crush and put out of his way whoever would not be his subservient follower or his unscrupulous tool. To cross his purpose or his desire, public or private, was to make him an enemy—an enemy of huge, burly strength, perfectly unscrupulous in using it. As we have intimated, the redeeming trait in all this was his purpose to make the success of the national cause consist with, or perhaps it would be fairer to say the result of, his personal success. To refuse to be of his followers, or to cross his passions or his purposes, sealed the fate of an Indiana soldier or politician, if there be any truth in the traditions of the camp or the forum.

Morton became Buell's enemy. It is not hard to understand how this might happen. Each had many ways of crossing the other's wishes. The Governor professed to believe, perhaps did believe, all the gossip sent to him from camps impatient of discipline. Punishment of pillaging was sympathy with rebels. Chariness of personal display was aristocratic hauteur and exclusiveness. Reticence was ignorance of the situation and lack of plan. The result was that Morton adopted and pressed upon the Administration the theory that Buell was a repellent military martinet, without the capacity to handle an army; a "rebel-sympathizer," if not an actual traitor; one who shut himself out from loyal advice and vital information; and that the repulse of Bragg at Perryville was a frightful and needless slaughter of our troops which it was a crime to claim as a victory. It is doubtful, however, if Buell would have been removed at last had he not himself, with somewhat excessive punctiliousness, reminded the War Department that the cessation of the pursuit after Bragg was a fit time to carry out the purpose if it still remained. Halleck knew better than any one else the causes of the delays in the early part of the campaign, and of the difficulties Buell labored under through the whole of it. The President and Secretary Stanton had evidently learned something of all this from him; but Buell's reminder, coming to Stanton when almost overpowering political influences were at work against the general, was enough like a challenge to make the Secretary take him at the word, and he was relieved.

This, with Morton, was a step gained, but only one. He resolved that Buell should not again have the command of an army, and practically dictated the appointment of an irregular Commission, nominally to inquire into the campaign, but really to condemn Buell; for the mere appointment of the court, since its proceedings were secret, was enough to fix a popular impression that serious charges were made on responsible authority, and fasten a lasting stigma upon him. Not a scintilla of evidence affecting his loyalty was produced. The Commission criticised his campaign, but their opinions on this subject would hardly outweigh his, and their report is the best proof that there was never any cause for convening them. But the record of the proceedings strangely disappeared, and could never be found. It has been possible to reproduce it only by reason of the fact that the stenographer had happened to preserve his original notes and furnished a copy to Congress on its order in 1872.

Later in the war Mr. Stanton offered Buell military employment, and, it is understood, rather warmly pressed upon him that he should resume active service. This was at least an acknowledgment that there was nothing affecting



his standing as an officer or a citizen. Buell declined, on the ground that he ought not to be asked to serve under others whose commission was junior to his own. In this he made a mistake. The law which authorized the President to assign generals to command without regard to date of commission, was as much a part of the military system as the grades in rank themselves. The assignment by the President then made a temporary grade in itself just as valid as when the grade of Lieutenant-General was created. General Fry says that no man was necessary to the country, and that Buell had the right to consult his own sense of dignity in the matter. No doubt he had the right, but it would none the less have been a happier thing to-day to record that, like Thomas, he served faithfully under one who had been his junior, and that his abilities and his patriotism, triumphing over malice and enmity, raised him again to an army command, when a crowning glory like Nashville rounded out his fame and left no one to dispute his title to be called a great general and a great patriot.

#### CATTLE RAISING.

*Life on a Ranch.* Ranch Notes in Kansas, Colorado, the Indian Territory, and Northern Texas. By Reginald Aldridge. D. Appleton & Co. 1884. Pp. 227, 4 woodcuts.

CATTLE-ranching on the wide plains of the West may be now said to have in part taken the place of sheep-raising in Australia as a resource for the younger sons of our well-to-do British cousins for whom there is no more room on the little island. The novelist may now send his hero to make his fortune on the cattle ranges of Texas, Colorado, or Wyoming, instead of into the bush of Australia. Before the war the cattle king, the descendant of the ranchero of Mexico, found his home on the fertile lands of Texas, now largely occupied by farmers. Here land was comparatively worthless, and the cattle roamed undisturbed, and multiplied at will. There being little or no market for them, their value was but a few dollars per head, so no attempt was made to improve the breed, which gradually assimilated itself to the wild inhabitants of the country. In the unimproved Texas cattle of to-day a singular resemblance to the deer tribe can be traced, in the large, lustrous eye, the long, pointed nose, the immense development of horn, the length of leg and thinness of flank, and the consequent fleetness of foot, which often tries to the utmost the speed of the little Texas horses. During the war the first experiment was made of driving Texas cattle to the distant railroad termini, and sending them to the Chicago market, and an actual money value was thus determined for these wild cattle. Gradually it was found that in more northern regions the steers grew more, and fattened better for market, and when the Pacific Railroad was finished a few adventurous spirits commenced raising cattle in its vicinity, in Colorado and Wyoming, though for a long time the fattening of young steers driven up from Texas formed the bulk of the business. Those engaged in it were largely farmers' sons, whom a restless spirit of adventure had brought into these regions, but among them was also an ever-increasing number of young men of good families in the East, whose connections enabled them to command a capital of a few thousand dollars.

For the first ten years, profits averaged from 25 to 50 per cent. per annum, and the rates for time loans at 2 and 3 per cent. per month. It required strong nerve and an abiding faith in the stability of the business to borrow money for any length of time at such ruinous rates, but fortune has favored most of the ranchmen in proportion to their daring in this respect. Eastern capitalists

for a long time smiled incredulously when asked to invest upon such representations; a few, however, intrusted small sums with their friends or relations for terms of three or five years, upon the basis of an equal division of profits, and the success of these ventures becoming more widely known among Eastern business men, the way was gradually paved for the "cattle boom" of 1881-'82. English and Scotch capital had also been somewhat attracted to the business by the reports of younger sons, who had cast their lots upon the Plains with their American cousins. During the "boom year" the price of range or improved cattle increased 50 or 60 per cent.—as much as, if not more than, they had during the ten previous years—and Texans in proportion. Large stock companies, with capitals varying from a hundred thousand to millions of dollars, were formed, and placed upon the New York, Boston, and London markets. This boom differs from the ordinary mining boom in that it has a legitimate and well-established business behind it, but, like all "booms," is subject to reaction.

There are several causes which may produce a reaction in the cattle boom, some of which might have been expected, others which are more or less abnormal and unexpected. Among the first is the necessarily reduced percentage of profit, owing to the greatly increased first cost of the stock in trade, to offset which the price of beef at Chicago has been uniformly higher since the boom than it had ruled during the previous ten years. Again, among so many companies formed, whose stock is held far away from the field of operations, it is probable that the profits have been in some cases discounted, so to speak, by the promoters, who have retained a large amount either in cash or stock as their commission for placing the rest of the stock. In such case, the capital upon which interest is to be paid is unfairly high, and in only moderately unfavorable years it may readily happen that it will be found impossible to pay the promised dividends, and hence a discredit will be cast upon the whole business, in which, in the majority of cases, the basis of capitalization may not have been an unreasonable one.

Among the abnormal causes for a reaction at this time the principal ones are the general financial depression throughout the country and the scare about cattle diseases. Neither of these may be considered to be entirely unexpected, for they had been predicted by far-sighted financiers on the one hand, and cattle men of long experience on the other. The seriousness of the cattle-disease scare has been very much exaggerated by newspaper reports. It commenced in the spring with supposed foot-and-mouth disease in Kansas herds; then the Texas fever was pervading Chicago stockyards and northern ranges; and lastly the whole country is found to be full of pleuro-pneumonia. On investigation, the foot-and-mouth disease proved to be only ergotism (a well-known result of eating ergot), aggravated by the filthy condition in which the diseased cattle had been kept during the winter. The Texas fever is an old story among cattle men; its germs are produced among cattle in the swampy regions along the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River, and are developed and transmitted to other cattle through theavings of these cattle on the trail or in stockyards when they go north. The original cattle do not have the disease, nor do they transmit it by contact with other cattle: it belongs to the infectious, not to the contagious diseases. In former years, during the long drive of two or three months from Texas to the northern ranges, it was eliminated from their systems long before they reached their destination. To the Kansas farmer, however, the Texas drive has always been a source of danger for his domestic cattle, and it has been customary among these in

the western borders of the agricultural region to club together and establish a "dead line" beyond the limits of their respective farms. When the advent of a Texas herd on its passage north was reported, armed men rode out to warn them to keep west of the dead line. This year, dead lines and fences have increased the difficulty of driving to such an extent that many herds were put on the cars and shipped directly to the northern ranges, and thus some of the yards and trails in Colorado and Nebraska became infected. The remedy against a recurrence of the danger of infection (which disappears with the first frost) lies in the prohibition of shipment of southern cattle by rail, or the establishment of a national trail on which cattle may be driven north. It is for the pecuniary interest of drivers not to send by rail, as it necessarily costs much more than driving.

Pleuro-pneumonia is probably only pursuing its normal development, and its being brought so prominently to public notice is a result of the passage of the so-called "Animal Industry" Bill, which had been diligently urged upon Congress for some years past by cattle men, but opposed by the shipping interest at Chicago, for fear of its injury to their foreign trade. The disease has been known, with more or less certainty, to have existed for some time past in various parts of the country, but official authority to stamp it out was wanting, and local interests opposed the public announcements of its existence. The writer is credibly informed that for two years past unprincipled dealers in East New York have been selling cattle they must have known had the seeds of the disease—mostly Jersey cattle—for dairy purposes. Although the provisions of the Animal Industry Bill, from deference to State's-rights doctrine, are less stringent and wide-reaching than had been intended by those who originated it, it is to be hoped that it will at least bring us to a realizing sense of what is for our best interests in the long run. The question at issue between those who favor and those who oppose such measures would seem to be whether we are more likely to get our meat products admitted free of restriction abroad by an honest, thorough, and scientific inspection of our herds and pens, or by suppressing all evidence of any possible disease, and indulging in unlimited vituperation of the Lords in Council and Prince Bismarck.

The British who come to this country to go into cattle-ranching in the West may be divided into three classes: 1st. Those with no capital at all. 2d. Those with small capital. 3d. Those with large capital either in cash, or in financial backing. The first class have, as a rule, not met with very great success, for in the cattle business, as elsewhere, it is hard to make something out of nothing, though instances are not wanting of men who commenced in the early days, and, from the product of their labor and skill alone, have become rich in the cattle business. The day for that has now passed, however, and the time is probably not far distant when only the third class may look for a reasonable chance of success in cattle-raising on the Plains. Our author belongs to the second class, and evidently possessed the characteristics, very essential for his work, of endurance, patience, courage, and good physical health. His little book is a plain story of his six years' experience, told with almost childlike simplicity of language and expression, and therefore bearing on its face the impress of truthfulness. Although devoid of any startling adventure, it will be found full of interest to those who have friends upon the Plains, and of suggestive hints to those who may contemplate going there. To the latter it should be said that his experience could scarcely be repeated at the present day, nor does his account cover all the phases of the cattle business, notably the management of the large

herds, owned by companies in Wyoming and Montana. It has the merit, however, of being, so far as we know, the first account of the cattle business by the ranchman himself.

#### BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

*On the Stage: Studies of Theatrical History and the Actor's Art.* By Dutton Cook. London: S. Low; New York: Scribner & Welford. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 287, 332.

*The Drama, Painting, Poetry, and Song: Embracing a Complete History of the Stage, an Exhaustive Treatise on Pictorial Art, a Choice Collection of Favorite Poems, and the Popular Songs of All Nations.* By Albert Ellery Berg. New York: P. F. Collier. 4to, pp. 718.

*An Interviewer's Album: Comprising a Series of Chats with Eminent Players and Playwrights.* By G. O. Seilhamer. New York: Alvin Perry & Co. 8vo, pp. 128.

*La Tragédie Française au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1550-1600).* Par Émile Faguet. Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern. 8vo, pp. 391.

*Les Soirées Parisiennes de 1883.* Par Arnold Mortier. Préface par Charles Gounod. Paris: Dentu; New York: F. W. Christern. 8vo, pp. 572.

MR. DUTTON COOK's final collection of his scattered magazine articles on theatrical subjects was prepared for the press before his death, although he did not survive to see it published. It was seen through the press by Mr. Moy Thomas, who has allowed two or three slips which the author would, no doubt, have corrected—Mme. Saqui for Mme. Saqui, for example (ii, p. 245), and Monte Cristo for Monte Cristo (ii, p. 206). Like Mr. Cook's other books about the theatre, 'On the Stage' is pleasant reading. The author asks us to accept it as a companion or supplement to 'A Book of the Play,' and most of the essays might well have been included in that amusing treatise, or are, in fact, elaborations of chapters of the earlier work. Although Mr. Cook never forgot that he was a critic, he appears in these pages rather as a compiler or as a gossip about theatrical usages, customs, and traditions. His reading in the history of the English stage was remarkable in its comprehensiveness, and he was fairly familiar with French dramatic *ana*; of American theatrical history he knew less. The twenty-eight essays which make up these two volumes are full of quotation and anecdote. Among the subjects treated are "Strange Players," "Stage Traditions," and the "Illegitimate Drama." There are two essays of interest to the Shaksperian student—the "Eclipse of Shakspeare" and the "Shakspeare Jubilee." There are studies of the Duke of Buckingham's "Rehearsal" and of Mrs. Gore's prize comedy, "Quid pro Quo"; a paper on Harlequin and another on Columbine, and two others on "Inexplicable Dumb-Shows" and "Suit the Action to the Word." There is also an account of the plays "Adapted from the French," but this is already antiquated and takes no account of the recent great change in the English drama. Formerly most English plays were unavowed adaptations from the French; now most English plays are original, the adaptations are open and avowed, and the exact but condensed translation is supplanting the adaptation. M. Sardou's "Fédora" and M. Georges Ohnet's "Maitre de Forges" have been presented as they were written, with no attempt to warp their situations or their characters into pseudo-conformity with English social conventions. One of Mr. Cook's more useful essays is on the French censorship, which gives us an opportunity to mention that an admirable article on the censorship of the English stage was contributed to the April *Westminster Review* by Mr. William Archer.

Two other of the essays in 'On the Stage' deserve special mention: one is a discussion of the "Art of Acting," and the other a consideration of the "Status of the Player." From the former the omission of all reference to the didactic poem of Samson or to the theories of Delsarte is noticeable; from the latter, the omission of the plea for the dignity of his calling contained in M. Coquelin's eloquent 'L'Art et le Comédien.' But this latter contains a good anecdote of Thomas Sheridan, the father of the author of the "School for Scandal," and sometime manager of the Dublin Theatre. Sheridan, appearing at the trial of certain young men about town who had been riotous in the theatre, was impudently addressed by their counsel: "I want to see a curiosity. I have often seen a gentleman soldier, and a gentleman sailor, and other sorts of gentlemen; but I have never yet seen a gentleman player." "Sir," said Sheridan, bowing courteously, "I hope you see one now!" (i, 80).

Mr. Berg's book is, in the phrase of the advertising agent, "a library in itself." It contains a little of everything, including a history of the stage from the earliest times to the present day, with biographical sketches of the chief dramatists and performers, and with a wealth of illustrations, sometimes good and sometimes otherwise. To the show business, as Artemus Ward called it, and to its various departments, nearly one-half of Mr. Berg's bulky volume is devoted. The work is frankly a compilation by one who has made little or no original research; but when we consider what it pretends to be, it is not at all ill-done. The compiler falls into error, as any one must who has not given himself specially to the subject; but his errors are rarely of prime importance, and he has generally gone to the best authorities. There is a lack of proportion and perspective in dealing with the contemporary stage, but this is to be expected. The illustrations are sometimes original, but for the most part they are borrowed from everybody. Of course, the attempt to include the dramatic universe must result always in a certain scrappiness; yet Mr. Berg's book is readable, and, in a modest way, useful. It reminds one a little of the grumbler's praise of his dinner: "It is very good, what there is of it—and there is plenty of it, too, such as it is."

The publication of 'An Interviewer's Album' was begun three years ago, and it was to be completed in twenty-four parts. Of these, sixteen were issued when the work abruptly terminated. We have delayed noticing the book, in the hope that it might in time extend to the limit originally promised; but this hope now seems vain, and we delay no longer. 'An Interviewer's Album' is one of the most aptly-named books we have ever met. Mr. Seilhamer, discovering that there were yet alive many performers who had played prominent parts on the American stage a third and even a half of a century ago, sought them out in their forgotten retirement and "wrote up the interview." Sometimes the interview was well worth writing up, sometimes it was empty and perfunctory. Among those whom the interviewer ordered to stand and deliver were Mme. Anna Bishop, Mrs. Alexina Fisher Baker, Mr. E. S. Connor, Mme. Augusta, and Mr. Cornelius Mathews—a list of names full of interest to those who are fond of reading the records of the early days of the American theatre. To each interview is prefixed the portrait of the "interviewee," if a needed new word may be hazarded. These are simple and unpretending lithographs.

M. Faguet's elaborate study of French tragedy in the sixteenth century, and especially between 1550 and 1600, has apparently been written for one or another of the many prizes which recompense the French literary man who gives honest,

hard work to a task of literary drudgery. As he informs us in his introduction, it is only the first instalment of a more extended work, which will trace French tragedy from its beginnings to the fulness and strength of its career, when Corneille was going out and Racine was coming in. The present work sketches its rise under Jodelle, its further development under Garnier—the most considerable name in French tragedy before Rotrou—and its condition when Montchrestien wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Space fails us now to do more than call attention to M. Faguet's conscientious study of a difficult period.

It is perhaps a little late to say anything about the 'Soirées Parisiennes de 1883,' which M. Mortier, the very clever "Monsieur de l'Orchestre" of the *Figaro*, gathered into a volume early in the spring. But there are now ten of these annual volumes of "Soirées Parisiennes," and we will not withhold our opinion that they are as instructive as they are amusing. They deliberately refrain from criticism, and confine themselves to gossip and wit and parody and satire, and yet we believe that the force and current of the French theatre during the past ten years can be seen better in them than they could in the reprinted criticisms of any of the Parisian dramatic critics—those of M. Sarcey alone excepted. M. Mortier has had the good fortune to get the preface of every volume written by a dramatic celebrity; and the ten now add not a little to the value of the collection. They have been contributed by Offenbach and Theodore Barrière, both now dead, and by MM. Daudet, Gondinet, Pailleur, Dennery, Zola, Halévy, Becque, and lastly by M. Charles Gounod, who writes an eloquent *apologia pro arte sua*. In these days, when honor is being paid to George Sand, it may interest many to know that the famous marionnettes of Nohant have been brought to Paris by M. Maurice Sand, and that M. Mortier (p. 257) describes one of their performances. Special praise is due to any author who provides an index, more particularly when his book is full of proper names. In all of M. Mortier's ten volumes, the indexes are ample: they double the value of the series.

#### RECENT ECONOMIC WORKS.

*Social Problems.* By Henry George. John W. Lovell Co.

*The Labor-Value Fallacy.* By M. L. Scudder jr. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co.

*Excessive Saving a Cause of Commercial Distress.* By Uriel H. Crocker. Boston: Clarke & Carruth.

*Workingmen Coöperators.* Cassell & Co.

*Reforms: Their Difficulties and Possibilities.* By the author of 'Conflict in Nature and Life.' D. Appleton & Co.

THERE is something pathetic in the devotion that Mr. George displays towards his hobby. In sentence after sentence, page after page, book after book, with an iteration that is at times damnable, he tells us that all the evils that flesh is heir to are due to one fell cause—Landlordism. The recognition of property in land occupies, in his economic system, a place as important as that of the fall of Adam in the Old School theology. The Millennium will appear, not when all men have experienced a change of heart, but when all taxes are levied upon rents. Poverty is not the result of idleness, or disease, or vice; it is the result of individual ownership of land. The evil habits of the tramp are not due to his laziness and improvidence; they arise from the deep despondency into which he is thrown by the reflection that the landlords of Europe, unsatisfied with centuries of extortion, are now pursuing their wretched vic-



tins across the ocean, and will soon cut off from them the last ray of hope. A few short years, and the last acre of fertile land will have passed out of the hands of the public. Then the hydraulic press of monopoly, manned by a legion of fiendish landlords, will begin to squeeze the vitals from the common people of this country; then the millstones shall be brought closer together, and the tenant be ground exceeding small.

The book now before us seems to contain little that is not to be found in 'Progress and Poverty.' Mr. George's views are so well known, and have been so abundantly criticised, that it is hardly worth while to make any extended comment upon this presentation of them. He shows excellent judgment in omitting here the two propositions which he previously undertook to maintain, and which were so utterly indefensible as to destroy the force of his whole argument. He says very little about wages being paid out of the proceeds of the labor by which they are earned, and nothing at all about the ridiculous theory that an infinite increase in population may result in a corresponding increase of wealth. If he would definitively abandon these untenable positions, his argument, although less portentous, would become far more formidable. But, unfortunately, there would then be nothing original about it. That rent is the result of monopoly was observed by Adam Smith, and that it might justly be subjected to especial taxation was also his opinion. Mill carried the discussion somewhat further, but the enormous practical difficulties to be overcome have hitherto interfered with the development of any satisfactory plan. Had Mr. George chosen to address himself to these problems, he might have contributed something of permanent value to the community. As it is, he has chosen the part of a howling dervish instead of that of a prophet. In his present work he advocates woman suffrage, and frankly avows socialistic views. The Government is to own all the railroads, to undertake the management of the telegraph and the telephone, and the supplying of cities with gas, water, heat, and electricity. Our present government, Mr. George forcibly shows, reeks with corruption, but so soon as property in land is abolished, human nature will become so regenerated that the vast addition to governmental functions which he proposes will be attended with fewer abuses than the existing arrangements.

Mixed up with all his absurdities, there are dashes of sturdy good sense in all Mr. George's writings. His scorn of the fallacies of the protection theory, his denunciation of public debts and indirect taxation, his criticism of the census reports, are all fine. As to the literary qualities of his work, Mr. George needs no praise from us. Barring a few slight blemishes of diction ("will" for "shall," etc.), his style is in every respect admirable. His method of developing a subject greatly resembles that of Herbert Spencer, and at times their styles are indistinguishable; but Mr. George's style is fresher and more brilliant.

Mr. George is favored with another refutation in Mr. Scudder's essay on the 'Labor-Value Fallacy.' We fear that refutations of this character will only harden the heart of the adversary. Mr. Scudder seems disposed to admit that if it is true that all wealth is created by labor, there is no escape from the conclusions of the Socialists. He considers, however, that this unfortunate result may be easily averted by denying that wealth is created by labor. He has never seen any wealth so created, he says, and after a careful inquiry he has failed to learn of any. He finds not "the slightest evidence of the truth of this doctrine in law or tradition or custom, in nature or in revelation." The law recognizes many titles, "but the title by labor is not one of them." Nature

does not know it, nor did Christ preach it. It is therefore false. Of course, if labor has not created wealth, laborers have no claim to it, and Mr. George's elaborate pile of argument comes down with a crash. We apprehend, however, that if that redoubtable Socialist should deign to apply the sledge-hammer of his rhetoric to Mr. Scudder's propositions, the ruin of the latter would be more complete than that he has meditated against his enemy.

Mr. Crocker's small volume has for its sub-title "a series of assaults upon accepted principles of political economy." The author, in despair at finding his contributions to economic science persistently meeting with editorial neglect, has determined to make a final attempt to arouse this evil generation. The several letters and essays are prefaced and concluded with brief accounts of their unfortunate history, the most important of them giving occasion to the author to remark that he "can now recall no printed notice of that article, however brief, that treated it with any favor or respect." We must admit that a perusal of the article in question leads us to the conclusion that the writers of the printed notices had considerable justification for their conduct. Mr. Crocker undertakes to show that a general overproduction of commodities, far from being an impossibility, is a very common and disastrous occurrence, and that economy only makes matters worse. His confusion of thought seems to arise from misunderstanding the term "saving," as used by economists. "Saving" is not hoarding, but simply the application of an increased quantity of wealth to production.

Messrs. Ackland and Jones have prepared a manual for the use of those who are engaged in coöperative enterprises, or who expect to be so engaged. Mr. Ackland is steward of Christ Church and a bursar of Balliol College, Oxford, and Mr. Jones has been actively connected with the coöperative movement for eighteen years. Their book is somewhat of the nature of a tract, being filled with exhortations of a tone that indicates that coöperation is prosecuted in England with religious fervor. There are directions for the edification and confirmation of the incipient coöperator, much like those formerly given to the "young convert." This, however, can do no harm, and, in spite of a clumsy arrangement, the manual is to be recommended, for it deals with practical questions—with difficulties that have actually arisen and with solutions that have actually been obtained. Any one proposing to start a coöperative store would find much that would be useful and suggestive in the statistics of such enterprises in England, here collected and tabulated. The work has been evidently a labor of love, and it would be only an impertinence to praise the generous devotion of the authors to a most worthy cause.

The anonymous work on reforms is a collection of opinions upon nearly all the subjects that have engaged popular attention in modern times. So far as we can judge, there is no difference in the value of these opinions, whether they relate to communism, monopoly, coöperation, bi-metallism, banking, protection, taxation, education, female suffrage, divorce, drink, crime, poverty, theology, or feminine extravagance. They are delivered in a tone of easy and complacent superiority, which may be accounted for by the fact that those who are thoroughly versed in the subjects brought up in this treatise are apt to shun such discussion as the writer indulges in. There seems to be little that is erratic in the views that are expressed, and upon the whole we should suppose that the intellectual operations of the ordinary citizen, who gets his ideas from conversation and from the newspapers, might be very fairly represented in these monologues. We can recommend the book only to that class of readers who may desire to learn

the views of this author with less expenditure of time than would probably be required by a personal interview.

*New Castle: Historic and Picturesque.* By John Albce. Illustrations by Abbott F. Graves. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1884. 12mo. pp. viii-155.

This is an engaging little book. The history of the island of New Castle, on the coast of New Hampshire, is told quietly, with much interesting detail, and enough sentiment and reflection to render the narrative vital. There are few dull pages. The ancient records of the town of New Castle were long supposed to have perished in some of the early troublous times, but in 1873 they were discovered, complete and uninjured, in Hertfordshire, England, and were soon afterward brought home. They begin in the year of the incorporation of the town, 1693, and extend to 1736. Nobody knows how they came to be in England. The original charter of incorporation, on parchment, has also been preserved. It is not known when the first settlement was made on the island, but it was some time before 1690. The people of this part of New Hampshire were not so severely puritanical as their Massachusetts neighbors, and thought and life were freer among them. The story of that far time is told in such a way as to inspire a strong desire to know more about it, which is good art in the historian. The reader sympathizes with the author's rebuke of the carelessness which has permitted the obliteration of various old fortifications on the island, and wonders at the vandalism which pulls down ancestral halls and mansions. But indifference to the value of historic remains is, unhappily, common in our country. Many original local designations linger in New Castle, the author says, but he has given us but two of them. The south part of the island is known as *Outalong*, and the north part as *Inalong*. Both names are in the town records. More of the peculiar local terms should have found place in these pages. New Castle was, for a long period, the seat of the Provincial Government, and residence of the governors. The story of "The Stone-throwing Devil" is queer; but it helps to make the little book part of the history of the great world, for similar stories belong to all times and lands. The names of the old families appear here, with glimpses of their several parts in the early history of the province, and of New England. Some of these names are still familiar; others have a foreign or ancient, many a Welsh, aspect.

In more modern times a New Castle meeting voted to admonish a certain man "for anger, peevishness, and swapping horses." One of the many religious sects of our country had its origin on the island, and the story of its rise is picturesquely human. The divisions of the book are: The first settlement of the island; descriptive walks; external annals; and civil and religious history. There are about fifty illustrations, and a copy of the town charter is given. The book is worthy of a more permanent form than that of a pamphlet. It should be put into covers in the next edition, and the description of the transfer of a decomposing body from an old grave to a new one should be omitted. It is an ugly blemish in a fair and graceful study. The book is a valuable contribution to local history, and we hope the author's pen may find employment in other similar fields.

*De l'Atlantique au Mississippi. Souvenirs d'un diplomate.* Par le Comte Alexandre Zannini. Paris: J. Renoult.

The title of Count Zannini's book might lead the reader to expect an account of diplomatic negotiations, with portraits of statesmen and public

characters, or at least a foreigner's view of the machinery of our Government. Nothing of the kind. Washington has been called the Siberia of diplomatists, and the chief qualification in an ambassador is skill in the art of doing nothing. If the nation is happy which has no history, the same may be said of one which has no foreign relations—though the Republican candidate for the Presidency, if successful, may break up this monotony. The members of the Diplomatic Corps, moreover, who find their official duties merely nominal, and in the society of members of Congress and their families a rather inadequate satisfaction for their tastes and habits, are cut off even from the resource of grumbling. It would never do to offend the susceptibilities of a mighty nation. On the title-page of the book in hand stands a question quoted from 'Democracy,' the American novel which excited so much attention abroad: "Do you yourself think democracy the best government, and universal suffrage a success?" But the wary Italian is very far from undertaking to answer so delicate a question. His work, while it shows a polished man of the world, is quiet and almost colorless in its statement of the various subjects of interest. The working of the Government is glided over very gently in a description of the White House, the Capitol, and the constitution of Congress. The absence of ceremony, which strikes a European so forcibly, is well illustrated by an Indian reception:

"One day I learned that the President was to receive in his office the visit of a deputation of Sioux, with their chief, Red Cloud. I entered and made my way to his presence. Nobody had invited me; nobody thought of sending me away. I was present at the reception. I saw there thirty warriors armed with axes and revolvers. The only palefaces present were President Grant, his private secretary, the Secretaries of War and the Interior, the interpreter, and myself. If these savages had given way to an impulse of rage, we should have been handed over defenceless to their tender mercies."

It may be doubted whether such a reflection would have occurred to an American.

We welcome heartily the conclusion of the Count that the danger to society in this country is not from the laboring classes:

"The American workman is of a race which has no tendency to anarchy. He, too, joins in strikes, which are inevitable in every industrial country; but he never becomes a demagogue. He does not aim at levelling society or impoverishing the rich, but wishes to raise himself to them. The danger for the United States is not thus in the lower classes, but in the corruption of political manners, in the venality of the administrators."

In other words, defects of administrative organization are the most threatening of the rocks ahead. The prison and educational systems receive a good share of attention from this writer, though, as usual, with a rather pronounced avoidance of definite conclusions. We observe that the Count inclines to the opinion that the negro race will ultimately die out. The sketches of scenery, of the principal cities, of modes of travel, hotels, etc., may probably interest Europeans, but to an American they sound somewhat trite.

*Grammaire Française pour les Anglais, suivie d'une série d'Exercices.* Par Lambert Sauveur, Docteur es Lettres et en Droit, Président du Collège des Langues. New York: F. W. Christern. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.

HOWEVER much many French teachers may differ with Dr. Sauveur as to the superiority of his *Méthode Naturelle*, they will agree that his new grammar is a valuable addition to the already long list of text-books from which they are called upon to make a choice. They may use this grammar without committing themselves to adopt the famous *Méthode*, provided their pupils

have already acquired a sufficient knowledge of French to understand the text. They can do so with the more freedom and consistency because, at the start, the *Méthode Naturelle* proscribed both grammar and dictionary, and forbade the use of a single English word, and its founder now publishes a grammar of considerable bulk, in which he has introduced many English sentences for the purpose of illustrating certain idioms and peculiarities of French syntax. This, they may say, is a tacit admission of what many of us have held as proved by experience, viz.: that the best way to teach the grammar of our language is by comparison with that of our pupil, and that, after all, one cannot learn a language so as to speak it correctly without studying its grammar.

The principal merit of the 'Grammaire pour les Anglais' is clearness. Not that this important quality is not to be found in many other French grammars—Larousse's, for instance, is just as clear, and has the advantage of being more complete; but Dr. Sauveur writes for English-speaking students, and he dwells more particularly on those rules in the application of which foreigners are apt to make frequent mistakes. Such are the rules that govern the article, the subjunctive, and the participle—the last two the bugbears of even French-born scholars. These subjects are treated in a masterly and exhaustive manner, and the difficulties removed by a series of logical reasonings. Not so satisfactory do we find the instruction concerning the place of the French qualifying adjective. The author tells us that it is "the ear and the sense which should regulate this—the ear alone, in most cases," and that "it is not possible to give rules which shall be of constant application." Therefore, he contents himself with giving four rules which "may be applied" the oftenest, but omits what should be (for the English-speaking student) an absolute rule regulating the position of adjectives that define the color and shape of objects, and of those which are formed from past participles, all of which the English invariably place before, and the French after the noun. A Frenchman may hold that no rule is necessary, that "une bleue robe, une carée table, un cassé verre," are disagreeable sounds which jar upon his auricular nerves; an American cannot see it; he is accustomed to say "a blue dress, a square table, a broken glass," and he will translate naturally without changing the position of the words. If it should happen, for a wonder, that his ear has been so nicely trained already to the soft French sound that he will need no such rule, then there is a great deal in the 'Grammaire pour les Anglais' which he will find just as unnecessary—among other things, the excellent treatise on pronunciation with which the book begins.

We note in the chapter on the subjunctive mood a logical conclusion not to be found in our best text-books. It is that the conditional *je voudrais*, idiomatically used for *je désire*, should not govern the imperfect but the present tense of the subjunctive, the conditional form in this case being but a polite softening of the authoritative "je veux," and implying neither will nor a condition. It is a pity that the author, while he was about it, did not solve that other vexed question: the use of the subjunctive form "je ne sache pas" without any subjunctive clause. Mr. Garner, of the Johns Hopkins University, in a pamphlet published some years ago, held that this peculiar form was probably a relic of the past, and there must have been a time when the present tense of "savoir" was "je sache, etc."

In conclusion, let us add that while most grammars leave much to be explained by the teacher, Dr. Sauveur's explanations are so clear, and his examples so well chosen, that the dullest pedagogue may use this book without fear of discomfiture.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Abbott, C. C. A Naturalist's Rambles about Home. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.  
 Art, L. Nos. 485, 486. J. W. Bouton.  
 Bonner, Sherwood. Suwanee River Tales. Illustrated. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.25.  
 Brontë, Charlotte. Jane Eyre. New edition. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay.  
 Bullen, A. H. The Works of Christopher Marlowe. 3 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$9.  
 Cable, G. W. Dr. Sevier. J. R. Osgood & Co.  
 Chapin, W. W. C. Sallusti Crispi de Conjuratio Catilinae Liber. De Bello Jugurthino Liber. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
 Cartland, Gertrude W. Text and Verse for Every Day in the Year. Scripture Passages and Parallel Selections from the Writings of John G. Whittier. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 75 cents.  
 Coins of the Bible. Illustrated. Scott & Co.  
 Cook, W. Synopsis of Chess Openings. With American Inventions in the Chess Openings, by J. W. Miller. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. \$2.  
 Deutsch, W. Colloquial Exercises and Select German Reader, for Schools and Colleges. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. \$1.  
 Dick, W. B. Society Letter-Writer for Ladies. Dick & Fitzgerald.  
 Digby, K. E. An Introduction to the History of the Law of Real Property, with Original Authorities. 3d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
 Dobson, A. Thomas Bewick and His Pupils. Illustrated. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. \$3.50.  
 Donnell, E. J. The True Issue: Industrial Depression and Political Corruption. G. P. Putnam's Sons.  
 Dugdale, R. L. The Jukes. A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity. Also a Further Study of Criminals. New ed. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.  
 Edmund Dantes; the Sequel to 'The Count of Monte Cristo.' Philadelphia: F. B. Peterson & Brothers. \$1.25.  
 Faulkner, H. C. A Handy Classical and Mythological Dictionary for Popular Use. A. L. Burt. 50 cents.  
 Fisk, Prof. F. W. Manual of Preaching, and Lectures on Homiletics. A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$1.50.  
 Freilich, Dr. M. Homeopathic Practice of Medicine, Embracing the History, Diagnosis, and Treatment of Disease. Fourteenth edition. Charles T. Hurlburt.  
 Gaillard, J. D. The Modern French Method. D. Appleton & Co.  
 Gaillard, J. D. French Orthoepy. D. Appleton & Co.  
 Gustafson, A. The Foundation of Death: a Study of the Drink Question. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. \$2.  
 H. H. The Hunter-Cats of Connoria. Illustrated. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.  
 Hadley-Allen. A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges. D. Appleton & Co.  
 Hansen-Taylor, Marie, and Scudder, H. E. Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$4.  
 Hawthorne, N. A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys. Illustrated by F. S. Church. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.50.  
 He, She, It: Egyptian Court Chronicle. J. W. Bouton.  
 Henty, G. A. Jack Archer: a Tale of the Crimea. Illustrated. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.50.  
 Hopkins, Rev. Mark. Teachings and Counsels: Sermons. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.  
 Howe, E. W. The Story of a Country Town. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. \$1.50.  
 Johnson, Anna. Education by Doing. E. L. Kellogg & Co.  
 Kavanaugh, Mrs. Russell. New Speeches, Dialogues and Recitations for Young Children. Dick & Fitzgerald.  
 Krehl, Prof. L. Das Leben des Muhammed. Leipzig: Otto Schulze.  
 Leffel's House Plans: Containing Elevations, Plans, and Descriptions of Houses Costing from \$500 to \$3,000. James Leffel & Co. \$2.  
 Linskill, M. Between the Heather and the Northern Sea: a Novel. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.  
 Luckenbach, N. H. The Folly of Profanity. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. \$1.25.  
 Martindale's Unclaimed Money, Lands, and Estates Manual. Chicago: J. B. Martindale. \$2.  
 Matthews, B., and Bunner, H. C. In Partnership: a Tale. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.  
 McCaleb, Mary H. Poems. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.  
 Miller, J. "40. The Gold-Seeker of the Sierras. Funk & Wagnalls.  
 Monro, D. B. Homer. Iliad, Books I-XII. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
 Müller, Prof. F. Max. Anecdota Oxoniensia. Aryan Series. Vol. I, Part 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
 Mulick (Cralk), Dinah Maria. Poems. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.  
 Myers, E. Selected Prose Writings of John Milton. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.25.  
 New National Fifth Reader. A. S. Barnes & Co.  
 Ogilvie, J. S. Handy Book of Information and Statistical Tables of Practical Value for Merchants, Editors, Lawyers, and others. J. S. Ogilvie & Co.  
 Ohnet, G. Le Maître de Forges. Wm. R. Jenkins. 25 cents.  
 Phillips, J. A. A Treatise on Ore Deposits. Illustrated. Macmillan & Co. \$7.50.  
 Picturesque Sketches: Comprising Architectural Sculpture, Statues, Monuments, Tombs, Fountains, Capitals, Cathedrals, Iron Work, etc. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. \$1.50.  
 Porter, Admiral. Allen Dare, or Robert le Diable: a Romance. D. Appleton & Co. 25 cents.  
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